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THE PRINCETON SEMINARY BULLETIN

Whither American Protestantism?

James I. McCord

Unity in the Faith

J. Davis McCaughey

The Reformation in An Ecumenical Age

George A. Lindbeck

Sermons:

The Life of Repentance

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The Third American Revolution

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The Significance of Samuel Zwemer

J. Christy Wilson

The Teaching of Practical Theology in
the United States in the Twentieth Century

Seward Hiltner

VOLUME LXI, NUMBER 1

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PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

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THE PRINCETON SEMINARY BULLETIN

DONALD MACLEOD, *Editor*

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Among our Contributors—

THE initial article in this issue, "Whither American Protestantism?" is the text of an address given by President James I. McCord at the Opening Convocation of the 156th academic year of Princeton Theological Seminary. By mutual arrangement with the editors, this article appeared also in *Theology Today*, Volume XXIV, Number 3 (October, 1967).

The Commencement Address, "Unity in the Faith," was delivered in the chapel of Princeton University on June 6, 1967, by the Reverend J. Davis McCaughey, Master and Professor of Biblical Studies, Ormond College, Melbourne, Australia.

On the occasion of the 450th Anniversary of the Lutheran Reformation, a special convocation was held in Miller Chapel, October 25, 1967, with Professor George A. Lindbeck, Yale University Divinity School, as lecturer. Dr. Lindbeck, who is professor of Historical Theology at Yale, spoke on "The Reformation in An Ecumenical Age."

The four sermons, included in this number, were given during various services of worship conducted on campus in 1967. "The Life of Repentance" was delivered by Professor George S. Hendry at the celebration of Holy Communion during registration week. Dr. Hendry is the Charles Hodge Professor of Systematic Theology and author of several books, including *The Holy Spirit in Christian Theology*. Junior orientation week-end, September 16-18, included a Vesper Service on Sunday with the Reverend John W. Meister as preacher. Dr. Meister, who was installed recently as executive secretary to the Council on Theological Education, chose as his subject, "Look for the All-Important Moment." During the Summer Institute of Theology, July 4-14, sermons were given by the Reverend Ernest T. Campbell, Minister of the First Presbyterian Church, Ann Arbor, Michigan, and by the Reverend George M. Docherty, Minister of the New York Avenue Presbyterian Church, Washington, D.C. Dr. Campbell, an alumnus of Princeton, Class of 1948, preached on the subject, "Changing Men or Altering Society," and Dr. Docherty, on "The Third American Revolution."

Among the many tributes given in honor of the one-hundredth anniversary of the birth of Samuel Zwemer, a warmly personal appreciation—"The Significance of Samuel Zwemer"—was expressed in an Alumni Day address, June 5, 1967, by the Reverend J. Christy Wilson. Dr. Wilson, who served on the faculty of Princeton Theological Seminary, 1941-1963, is now Dean of Field Service, Emeritus, and is living at Westminster Gardens, Duarte, California.

A comprehensive survey, entitled "The Teaching of Practical Theology in the United States during the Twentieth Century," was prepared this year by Professor Seward Hiltner for The Ecumenical Institute, Chateau de Bossey, Switzerland. Dr. Hiltner is professor of Theology and Personality at Princeton and is the author of many articles in the field of pastoral counselling. His books, including *A Preface to Pastoral Theology*, are used widely as some of the most definitive textbooks in the related areas of religion and psychology.

—Donald Macleod

WHITHER AMERICAN PROTESTANTISM?

JAMES I. McCORD

IN October 1967, Protestants celebrate the 450th anniversary of the Reformation. Luther's moving experience will be rehearsed, and the spiritual and theological insights of the Reformers will be underscored; but it is safe to predict that 1967's celebration will be more a time for critical assessment and stock taking than for the excessive claims of one branch of Christendom. Even the traditional polemics will be blunted for all but the most intransigent by the new spirit of understanding and cooperation with Roman Catholics.

Several factors conspire to make this a sober occasion. For one thing, the Church, like all institutions today, is caught up in a global revolution that has many dimensions and that will transform the existence of the majority of mankind. Structurally and theologically Protestantism is ill-equipped for mission and ministry in such an age. It has had nothing like the Second Vatican Council to help it confront the possibilities inherent in this new situation. The flood of renewal literature which it has produced has been for the most part barren, bereft of new ideas, and repetitive. It seems caught in a tension between the need of new forms of ministry to meet new conditions and a stubborn desire to hang on to old forms that are familiar and comfortable.

Moreover, there are signs that Protestantism is guilt ridden by its economic affluence. The new polarities, between North and South, white and non-white, rich nations and poor nations, all point to the necessity for radical change in

order to deal with these radical dislocations and inequities, but no clear alternatives present themselves. Protestantism has always regarded the gospel as culture-transforming, but now it finds itself accused at the same time of acculturation and irrelevance. Identified with the West, caught in the vise of global unrest, burdened with its institutions and riches, it talks endlessly of mission, while the word has been steadily drained of meaning, and openly wonders what will make a difference during the last third of this century.

In American Protestantism this situation has produced a crisis that is reflected in at least five dimensions. The word "crisis" has been deliberately selected, for in each dimension change is indicated and with it the possibility of new and more authentic responses to the gospel. But such change will require more than a mere reshuffling of parts within the context of given structures. In each circumstance something qualitatively new is demanded, a response that will involve a fresh apprehension of the center of the faith and a commensurate witness and style. On this basis it can be argued that, just as a new world is coming into being, a new and transformed Protestantism can emerge from the present crisis, one that will no longer be paralyzed by the cultural situation but that will be a responsible partner in the new emergent. It is in this sense that the spirit of Protestantism is revived from age to age, as the Reformation principle is grasped and becomes operative in the life of

the Church. Such a position, of course, is based on the theological nature of the Church and takes seriously the promise of Christ, "Upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." An implication of this promise is that the Church is renewable from above, that the Spirit of God, like a rushing mighty wind, can blow through her and re-make her into a revolutionary movement.

I

The *first dimension* of today's crisis is that of place, the place of Protestantism in American culture and, beyond this, in a world where the old balance is being rapidly revised. Just as it is possible to maintain that a Protestant ethos was reflected in American life from the earliest days of colonization along the Atlantic, with the New England village the symbol of this society, so today it seems equally clear that this ethos is in the process of being disestablished and disavowed. If by "ethos" we understand "the character, sentiment, or disposition of a community of people," then we are reflecting on a tradition that has lost its power to motivate and inspire, to capture the imagination and loyalty of a given communal entity. This is a condition that has been brought about not simply by the presence of Catholic, Jew, and humanist in the American scene, or by the changed and diminished sensibilities of a people saturated with the values of a secularized society, but it involves the conscious rejection of a mode of life long identified with Protestantism.

It has been said that in previous generations the old Protestant theological system was largely abandoned, but that only in this generation has there been

a repudiation of Protestant morality. While this is a generalization too glib to be defended, it does point to a significant characteristic of the contemporary scene. The narrowness and negativism, the oppressive moralism long associated with one type of religious behavior, are now being increasingly rejected as a human style of life and are recognized as the products of a limited and parochial culture and a desiccated view of man and creation. James Baldwin in one of his essays describes this way of life, the context in which he himself grew up, as having "the air of an endless winter," and it is this wintry style that is being cast aside. To dismiss it as bourgeois is not enough. It is a religious phenomenon that has missed completely the rich and full potential of man, created by God and set on this good earth to share in the divine purpose.

Beyond the nation and the West, the calculus has shifted, and the old Protestant "place" has been lost. "Radical displacement" was much easier to defend when the Protestant faith was in the privileged position of the religion of the dominant political power. Not that the missionary and the colonial power joined together as a single and dominating team. The relationship was always more complicated, and in many cases the aims of the one were inimical to the aims of the other. But as Barbara Ward and others have pointed out, they came together, and in the minds of colonial peoples they were allied, and this alliance meant privilege. If today the new nations are experiencing a new colonialism of technology, as Arend van Leeuwen contends, then it is safe to predict that it will produce far different results as far as the Christian mission is

concerned. The neutralism, the pitting of East against West and West against East in government policy, and the deliberate encouragement of the indigenous religions represent hedges they are building against future cultural domination.

Alternative responses to the loss of place or position, to cultural disestablishment at home and abroad, are always possible. One is to assume a ghetto stance and to wait for the storm to blow itself out. This, of course, is essentially defeatist and world-denying. Another is to accept the new conditions as evidence of God's judgment and mercy, to give up all claims to triumphalism, and to reenter today's world purged and purified to perform a new role. Signs that the Church is willing to do this constitute the greatest human reason for hope in our time. The role of the servant has become one of her most gripping symbols, informing the nature of her mission. Dialogue is becoming a reality as Christians are entering into the new age, eager to listen and to struggle alongside their neighbor in order to learn the questions which haunt and goad man in his quest for maturity and meaning. And the sheltered morality of a narrow and bucolic culture is being replaced by a new freedom, that of men who have experienced the reality of justification by faith and who have learned what it means to be established in the context of grace.

II

But it is precisely here, in the area of theology, that the *second dimension* of the current crisis appears. Protestantism has always taken its theological responsibility seriously. Its close association with the university since the in-

ception of the Reformation movement has enabled it to be influenced by and to influence the major currents of thought. Today, however, we are at the end of a theological era, with the old theological systems a shambles. The generation of the theological giants, the "modern church fathers," has closed, and the dominant position of this generation is now under attack. Bonhoeffer pointed to its Achilles' heel, its positivism of revelation, and now it is being criticized for its failure to produce great preaching, to inspire the Christian mission, and to formulate a relevant ethic.

Perhaps the most telling judgment comes in the charge that a unitarianism of the Second Article has produced a theology which is parochial, that has cut off dialogue with the world of culture, science, and philosophy, as also with the great world religions, just at the time when mankind has been drawn into a single history and western culture was undergoing a massive cultural revolution. Moreover, Paul Tillich has argued convincingly that the wrong question has been addressed, at least for alienated post-World War II man, whose basic query has grown out of the breakdown of cultural forms and has to do with meaning. In short, the Protestant answer has not been adequate because it has dealt with questions too narrow to engage the dilemma of modern man.

One result of this theological shift is a deliberate return to the nineteenth century and a fresh attempt to understand its theological writings. This is an effort to lay hold of the problems which were central when theology was in dialogue with the world, when the frontiers of human inquiry and discovery were essential posts to be manned

in order to ascertain the spiritual nature of the age. This does not mean that the criticisms of this period have been forgotten or that the gains registered by the past generations have been ignored. It does mean, though, that there is a feeling of solidarity with the theological tradition that was willing to engage the world and to deal with the issues it considered significant.

Today's theological task is one of reconstruction on a much wider foundation. Protestants will accomplish it no longer in isolation but in cooperation with their Roman Catholic colleagues, and it is evident that it will include dimensions that were squeezed out during the age of ideology, when historical circumstance forced the church into withdrawal and introversion. Already the work of reconstruction is under way, in the new hermeneutical studies which reveal the rich variety of New Testament thought, in the various theologies of creation that are widening the old categories of redemption, and in the remarkable new energy that is being brought to the study of world religions.

III

This new movement in theology and the radical new demands for political, social, and economic injustices to be rectified have produced the *third dimension* of the crisis, that of role. American Protestantism's role up to the present has been strikingly simple. It has had evangelism at its center and has followed migrations of its people in their trans-continental trek, converting and reviving them and through programs of church extension providing places of worship wherever their travels have taken them, even in their last

migration from the city. While there have been notable exceptions to this pattern in every period of the Church's life, the general emphasis has always been highly individualistic. The role of the Church has been to convert individuals. Relations, structures, powers, society, all these belong to another realm.

There is a large segment of American Protestantism that is still dominated by this point of view, and it is not limited to fundamentalist or spiritualist bodies. It cuts across virtually every major communion, with neither Catholic nor Quaker exempt. On the other hand, this is the position that has been rejected by the vast majority of responsible church leaders because of the narrowness of its concern, its ahistorical and unbiblical character, and its aloofness from the great over-arching issues threatening man today. The future, they argue, will be determined by whether peace can be established, the races can live together harmoniously, population can be controlled, and economic justice can be achieved. The Church, in an attempt to accomplish these goals, has taken a New Testament theme that scholars tell us is central to understanding the work of Christ, namely, reconciliation, as descriptive of her mission today. Long criticized for irrelevance, she is now involved as an agent of reconciliation in areas of tension and strife. Evangelism is redefined in terms of community action or even by a new theological reference which points to what is going on in history as evidence that God himself is involved in creating a new balance through the current revolutionary movements.

These two groups with their differing emphases have begun to polarize,

as nearly every pastor knows. The former tends to accuse the other of neglecting the gospel, of becoming involved in politics, and of substituting practical programs of social reform for conversion, while the latter retorts by describing the first as attempting to limit or even to deny the Lordship of the Lord and to forget that the God of the Bible is the God of politics.

Surely it is at this very point, where the Church's conception of the gospel and faithfulness in mission are at stake, that a fresh apprehension of the fullness of the faith is required. To perpetuate a false dualism of spirit and world, of sacred and profane, or of "two kingdoms," in the face of the pressing needs of this generation is indefensible. But it is equally fallacious to attempt to transform the Christian mission into a mere programmatic agency, thus eliminating the whole dimension of the prophetic and transcendent, of judgment and grace, of ultimate concern and ultimate meaning.

IV

American Protestantism's confusion is most obvious in its *crisis of identity*, a confusion that is shared by Protestant bodies throughout the world. Creation of and participation in the ecumenical movement have not resolved this situation; rather, it has been recognized that the denominational pattern is an inadequate response to the ecumenical imperative and that it is hardly an accurate reflection of religious differences in this country. Any major denomination is as variegated and heterogeneous as the Democratic Party. As denominational loyalties have diminished, the percentage of church members who cross and re-cross communal lines has

grown in proportion to the growth of the independent voters.

The denominational response in early America was an inevitable by-product of a cultural situation that had been produced by waves of immigrants from different ethnic backgrounds and different religious traditions. From the first decade of this century an effort to temper denominationalism has been made through the conciliar movement. It has emphasized practical unity and has produced at best cooperative Christianity. While acknowledging the contributions of this movement, the establishment of councils at every level from local to world, joint action on many fronts, a common forum for discussion and better understanding, and success in drawing churches out of isolation and into dialogue with each other, it is clear by this date that the churches will not assign to the councils more than minimal ecclesiological significance and no ecclesiastical character or power. To put it candidly, the historic Protestant churches have resolved to remain the centers of power, a resolution that has been implemented by retaining for themselves resources and personnel as well as their own discipline.

Nor has the crisis of identity been handled satisfactorily. The concern for the unity of the church has deep biblical and theological roots and commands the loyalty of many churchmen today. They realize the inherent docetism in attempting to be Christians-at-large, but they continue to chafe at the traditional structures that can only claim diminishing loyalty. To date, ecumenists have been largely unsuccessful in providing any viable model of a new structure that will embody this concern or point to a solution of the identity problem.

What is being demanded is a more costly response to the ecumenical imperative, one that will involve the churches in their fundamental integrity and that will produce more than mere administrative or structural adjustments. It may well be that while such negotiations are preceding from year to year in committees, the ecumenical reality is coming into being at the "grass roots" level.

V

Accentuating and underscoring the other dimensions of Protestantism's crisis is another, the *fifth*, that she shares with all other institutions today. This is the chasm between generations. It is a truism that this student generation is separated from its parents by perhaps the widest span in the history of man. For those seeking comfort it should be noted that the oncoming generation will be separated from the next by an even wider cultural abyss, so accelerated is the pace of technological achievement. Further comfort may also come from numerous reports emanating from Russia that the youth there have taken to religion as their form of protest against the older generation.

It is difficult to generalize about any generation beyond conceding that it is immensely complex and usually misunderstood. Nonetheless, any survey of the new Protestant generation, including those who are enrolled in theological schools, will include certain common characteristics that have often been remarked. One is a strong anti-institutional bias growing out of the suspicion that the church has not escaped the impersonalism and vulgarization of modern industrial society. Another is

an antagonism against the Church itself. Norman Pittenger has written: "The first thing that strikes one about the modern theological student is the degree to which he *hates* the Church." He sees in her not the "realm of redemption" or "the pilgrim people of God," but a hindrance to his Christian profession and a cumbersome ecclesiastical corporation to be served. A third is an equal hostility toward the enterprise of theology. William Hamilton has described this mood, the impatience with answers to questions no one is seriously asking, with the pretense to include all truth in neat systems, and with the lack of contact with the burning issues of the moment. To be sure, there are signs that this revolt is producing a new anti-intellectualism, the sort of non-rational activism that has been the bane of American Protestantism throughout its history and that will continue to undermine its effectiveness even though it appears today in a righteously indignant garb. But the suspicion and hostility are present, and who would argue that it is without cause?

We began by saying that this Lutheran and Protestant anniversary will be a time for critical assessment rather than for fueling old fires of ecclesiastical controversy, and that it will offer a new opportunity to be freshly grasped by the living center of the faith, that One who has the power to renew and reform, to judge and make whole. Such a moment in the Church's life always produces a new movement. It cannot be contained. It involves another direction, a qualitative leap into the future, and with this a resolution of the crises that stalemate and divide.

Such are the possibilities before a renewed Protestantism today. Freed from cultural establishment and dominance, still able to attract for her leadership angry young men of radical honesty and courage, the heir to a theological heritage that succeeded, with all its shortcomings, in recovering in the past generation the meaning of the gospel,

in open and hospitable relations with Catholic and Orthodox brothers, she can now seek to be the Church in deed and in truth. There is no guarantee that this will happen. Mediocrity may continue to prevail. But the opportunity is present for those who have ears to hear "what the Spirit is saying unto the churches."

The Annual Lectureships
1967-1968

The L.P. Stone Lectureship

November 6-10, 1967
Paul S. Minear

Winkley Professor of Biblical Theology
Yale University Divinity School

The Students' Lectureship on Missions
April 15-16, 1968
T. Watson Street

Executive Secretary, Board of World Missions
Presbyterian Church in the United States

The Annie Kinkead Warfield Lectureship
February 5-9, 1968
Roger Mehl

Professor in the Faculty of Protestant Theology
University of Strasbourg

UNITY IN THE FAITH

Commencement Address, June 6, 1967

J. DAVIS McCaughey

UNITY in the faith poses a question which will necessarily preoccupy those who enter the Christian ministry today: How are we to state our adherence to the Christian faith? And more particularly, how is this to be done in the union of churches?

In the world today, more than thirty different negotiations for union are taking place between churches previously separated by confession, by liturgical practice, and by order. You would expect that in these negotiations much attention would be given to the Church's credal basis, to the Church's message, to affirmations of faith. This is, however, often not the case; and we might ask why? Why do we not find as much discussion as we would expect on the Church's faith in union negotiations? I suspect that there are two reasons: the first is that the question is regarded simply as a formal one. It can be assumed, it is said, that we are agreed on the main questions of faith, it is only a matter of recording that the United Church will acknowledge the authority of Scripture, and recognize the classical creeds of the Christian Church, say the Apostles' and the so-called Nicene Creed. But this *formal* approach is full of weaknesses, of which the chief is this: it ignores a fundamental principle of the contemporary ecumenical movement—enunciated alike by the World Council of Churches and by the Church of Rome—that unity is but an aspect of the renewal of the

Church's life. The question before us is: how can we make reunion the occasion of a renewed grasp on the Church's faith?

The second reason for neglect of questions of faith and of concentration upon questions of ministerial order and institutional organization is simpler and less honorable: discussion of these questions is largely carried on by ministers, *i.e.*, by the clergy, who have an almost pathological preoccupation with themselves, their own status, their own role in the life of the Church. The organization of their own ecclesiastical society fascinates them. And when the discussion is turned over to elders and their equivalents things are not much better. I assume that as Christian ministers you know that it will not do to concentrate on questions of structure, and of ministerial order. It will not do because the Church which lies ahead of us must demonstrate to her members and to the world that she is the Christian Church, holding the Catholic faith. It will not do because it can no longer be assumed that we know what we mean when we acknowledge the authority of scripture, or give our assent to creeds; and if some of us forget this, younger theologians and laymen of sensitive mind and conscience in all our churches will rise to remind us of the fact. Finally, it will not do to ignore this question of the faith we hold in common, and of how we hold it, because nothing could be more destruc-

tive of the true life of the Church than that we should be permissive about how the faith is held, and rigorist about questions of order. "There is no God, but Mary is His Mother" will be replaced by "God is dead, but the bishop is alive, and you'd better have the Presbytery for your protector."

In asking for attention to the faith of the Church at the point of union, we shall of course run into very great difficulties. The first of these is that described in a most important article by your President on the breakup of the older ecumenical consensus. Twenty years ago we could have had a series of unions on the basis of what Dr. McCord called Barthianism with Anglican trimmings; or perhaps, to use more Anglo-Saxon terms on the basis of a "theology of recital," a rather simplified view of the Bible as the history of salvation, with an eclectic kind of Church Order. But, as you know, this begged too many questions. The breakup of the theological consensus of yesterday makes the task of union more difficult today; and where its difficulty is not recognized it is perhaps because the present position of theology is not being taken seriously.

Suggestions that priority should be given to discussion of the Church's faith understandably arouse apprehension if not fear in many quarters. Some laymen and ministers fear that if opportunities of this sort are given to the theologians union will be postponed indefinitely. The professionals will hold conference after conference on technical theological issues. Some of an older liberal tradition fear the imposition of creeds and doctrinal definitions upon the minds and consciences of those who cannot honestly accept them. Others

again, many Anglo-Saxons and many Anglicans in particular, take the view that the Church's true life and faith is expressed in her witness and her worship; they find it difficult to see how a strong emphasis upon the Church's tradition of dogmatic thought, so strong among Lutherans, Roman Catholics, and some Reformed Churchmen, serves these: it is better—they say—to commit ourselves in union to a common mission to the world, and to a common observance of liturgical norms. All these objections are serious and must be treated as such. We cannot expect to define the faith afresh, and in a way which will satisfy every intellectual consideration; but on the other hand we cannot, we dare not assume that all that is wrong with the Church is that she is institutionally divided, and all that is required is that the fragments of the jig-saw should be put together so that the picture of Christian truth as a whole may become clear.

How do we get out of this dilemma? We cannot ignore the faith by which we live; yet, we do not know how to talk about it. How, in present circumstances, can we make the union of churches the occasion for a renewed grasp on the faith of the Church? I want to suggest three guidelines, which we might follow:

1. Any Basis of Union must point men to the places where faith is kindled, renewed and nourished, rather than ask for confidence in its own redefinitions of the faith.

2. Every Basis of Union should point, as far as conviction and conscience will allow, to the variety of expressions of the Christian faith.

3. Every Union must realize that it is only a step on the road to renewal: it

should make provision for the continuing task of theological reflection. Aware of their own limitations, churches entering into union should confess the faith as best they may for their own day, but commit themselves for the future to the correction of the Spirit in the life of the Church, and always look to that great judgment to which all things tend.

In other words, we must look to the places of faith; look to the variety of expressions of faith; and look to the correction which comes from the future.

Now, what would it mean to follow these guidelines? We should have to think this through, and work through this, in a number of directions; and on this occasion I can give only five headings.

First, if we say that we are to point men to the places where faith is to be found, we must begin by pointing men to the gospel of Jesus Christ, the preached message which lies behind both Bible and Church. A renewed grasp of the Christian faith begins with the recognition that it grasps us: it[he], the Word comes to us as preached message. Christ comes to us as preached presence. The Word speaks to faith. In this day when we rightly hear so much about the obligation of Christians to identify themselves with the world, it is well to remember that we are a people with a message to the world. When we rightly hear about a Christian "presence" in the world, about the transformation of personal and social relationships when Christians seek to be with men in their suffering, it is well to remember that the presence of which we speak is not primarily our own presence, but that of Jesus Christ; the recurring theme of the letters to the Seven

Churches is: *I will come to you . . . I come . . . Behold, I stand at the door and knock.*

The Church's task is not to be understood primarily in doctrinal terms, as though she were a rabbinic sect passing on authoritative teaching, nor in socio-political terms, as though the Church's significance can be measured in the way one society can be compared to another (valuable though that exercise might be). The Church's task will be seen when the Church's history is understood as the history of the Word (the message) moving through the tangible realities of secular history and exciting there the relation of faith in God through Jesus Christ: offering his Word of forgiveness, and of hope. All Biblical documents, all credal formulations, all liturgies, all confessions are to be understood in that context. And it is to this announcement of such a message that the Christian minister is committed.

If we take this as our starting point we shall be less concerned with how orthodoxy is to be preserved and more concerned with how the springs of faith and obedience are to be renewed. To use the terminology of the German Church struggle, we shall be less concerned that the Uniting Church which emerges should be a confessional Church and more concerned that it should be a confessing Church: less preoccupied with the great Confessions as systematic statements of the faith and of their consistency with one another, more concerned that in the life of the Church men come to confess Jesus Christ and him crucified. Whatever may have been the call heard by previous generations, and whatever may still need to be done in the future, ours

is unlikely to be the generation (if any is) which will articulate the faith again and in its fullness. Attempts to summarize what the faith is (as to its content) are likely either to be thin—as they often have to be in statements issued by negotiating committees—or else to be arbitrary in their selection of one kind of language, be it that of Chalcedon or the Aristotelianism of second generation Calvinism as found in the Westminster Confession. What we can hope to do in common is to point men to the Place of renewal, *i.e.*, to Jesus Christ, and having got that clear as our starting point, then go on to point them to the means and places of renewal of faith in the Church's history, to the places where this faith in Jesus Christ is found.

II

So, secondly, *we shall certainly say something about Scripture*; but we shall commit ourselves to Scripture, *as containing the texts from which the Church preaches*.

The present state of Biblical and theological scholarship make it unlikely that we shall formulate satisfactorily a fresh statement of scriptural inspiration or authority. The reasons for this are well known to you. The canon, the inspiration, the authority of Scripture are—so to speak—permanent elements on the agenda of the Church's theologians, of her ministers, and they must continue to be discussed in the Church's life; but at the point of union, as at the point of ordination of an individual minister, the commitment is to Scripture as containing the texts from which the Church preaches. These Scriptural documents show us faith coming alive in a great diversity of circumstance, love

seeking its way among the many perversities of men, hope quickened among the desperate and the dying. We point to these documents in all their variety as the means and places where faith is to be found, renewed and nourished.

Let it be, however, the whole Biblical witness in its diversity and variety. There is a danger that preachers will divide: I am of Paul, I am of the Prophets, I am of the Synoptic Gospels. We ought to hear the message of each, if we are to hear God's full and rich Word to man, if we are to be led to the fulness of Christ. So, we point to Scripture, but to the Scriptures in their fulness as the sources of our preaching. It would be better for the United Church to commit its ministers to preach from a lectionary than to try to commit them to some strait jacket view of Scriptural authority. Let us be sure that we treat Scripture authoritatively, not just speak about its authority.

Scripture itself contains many voices, from radical to conservative. Its ecumenical significance lies in the fact that we must not un-Church those whom Scripture recognizes. Its positive evangelical significance lies in the fact that we cannot ignore any voice which can be heard from its pages.

III

Thirdly, our approach to the *Sacraments* will be similar; for the renewal of faith and life of course comes from the Sacraments—of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. Again we should be concerned less with the quasi-philosophical and theological definition of their nature, and more about their use. He who does this will come to know the doctrine. And again we stand in what in many ways is a fortunate position.

(a). Negatively, this is not a time for seeking a consensus of informed opinion on the theology of the Sacraments, certainly not a time at which to expect to get ecclesiastical agreement. The hesitations of the official voice of the Roman Church in departing from traditional formulations in spite of the work of her leading theologians could easily repeat itself in other communions. The fact is, of course, that as Donald Baillie showed, there is a growing consensus among theologians: there is a new way of stating old differences which is drawing together men of diverse backgrounds in their understanding of the Sacrament of Holy Communion. Almost certainly any attempt to summarize that consensus in a Basis of Union would, however, either be thin or premature or both.

(b). Positively, what we can recognize, however, is that we live in a period of growing awareness at levels deeper than self-consciousness of the significance of the Sacraments for faith. There have been times when Protestants have very nearly said that faith confers significance upon the Sacraments; at the point of union it would be better to say the opposite, that for many today the Sacraments convey men into the relation of faith: they quicken and renew it.

Thus, what we should say to one another at the point of union is more about how the Sacraments are to be used than a detailed statement of what they mean. A story is told of a Jewish woman converted to Christianity, who was in effect asked at the end of her period of instruction if she understood the significance of the Sacraments. She answered: "How can I know until I have received them?" The Church will

come to understand the Sacraments—their mystery—as she lives more fully by them. A Basis of Union should be a commitment to live together more fully the Sacramental life, to do so with more discipline by which must be understood genuine discipline, a going in the way of discipleship.

IV

The fourth direction to which the uniting churches will together point in order that faith may be renewed is to the *classical creeds of the Christian Church*, certainly the Apostles' Creed and the so-called Nicene Creed; and possibly also the Christological formulations of Chalcedon.

There are, of course, important differences between the way in which the Church is related to her creeds from those in which she is related to Scripture and Sacraments, but the resemblances are instructive.

(a). Here, too, it is necessary to begin with a negative statement: the creeds can no longer be used as "tests of orthodoxy" for individual members, as some so fearfully see them. In spite of the "I" form, creeds are not primarily individual expressions of faith; they articulate the faith of the Church. Creeds are not, therefore, emphasized in worship in a new way in order to compel men and women who have serious doubts (or perhaps just lack of information on the subject) to accept a (physiological) Virgin Birth or the (literal) resurrection of the body. It must be made clear that the function of creeds in the life of the Church is not to damage men's consciences or to blunt their sensibilities.

(b). For what purpose and in what manner are they to be understood?

Whatever their original uses, the creeds have become acts of the Church's worship, or (in F. D. Maurice's phrase) "acts of affiance." The Church declares the Name of the One to whom she belongs. The individual worshipper is asked to enter into this worshipping, confessing fellowship. In doing so he is not asked *ex animo* to make every clause his own; he is asked to say, in effect: "I believe in, I put my confidence in the One who in the Christian tradition (as distinct from other traditions) is described in these ways. I wish to belong to Christ and his people who for centuries have used this language."

With an understanding of the matter along such lines as these (familiar enough to the theologically informed), the creeds could regain their rightful place as witnesses to the continuity of the Church's faith, as framework for instruction in the faith, as acts of worship, and all in such a way as to preserve the liberty of the individual conscience.

Men will ask, however, that we should give an explicit answer to two questions. First, why these creeds? Few will any longer be satisfied by legends about "the undivided Church." We now know too much about the early history of Christianity to mouth these phrases with the ease of some of our predecessors. Nevertheless, a case can still be made for saying that these creeds speak the language of the universal Church; their intention and (by and large) their use has been catholic not sectarian. Those who seek the unity of the Church commit themselves afresh to fellowship with other Christians both in time and space. They know themselves to be dependent upon them, so they listen to the words they say and try to lisp their words after them, in order that their

faith and joy in their Lord may be strengthened and renewed.

Men will also ask for explicit acknowledgment of another theological commonplace, namely, that to use these words with integrity it is necessary to recognize the historical setting of these statements. We cannot regard the words of the creeds as the absolute statements of the Christian Faith, a status which can no longer be given to any particular writing, even a Scriptural writing. Each creed has its own original context; and in using a creed we in some degree use the language of another day. Such an acknowledgment cannot be left to the mental reservations of ordinands; it must be built into the teaching life of the Church.

V

Finally, we come to *the Confessions of the Reformation*. To speak on this subject here is to bring coals to Newcastle—or perhaps to pour coals of fire on some hapless heads. But where better than here to remind ourselves that most Churches at present engaged in union discussions have learnt much of their understanding of the Christian Faith through the witness and work of the Reformers of the 16th and 17th centuries; and if they wished to point to places where faith can be renewed and deepened would wish to point to the Confessional Statements of that period. Again, however, it is important that they should state how they see the United Church related to these documents. Integrity will demand that we should be explicit.

(a). Once more we begin with a negative point. The Confessions of the Reformation cannot be treated any longer as they once were treated as containing "*the system of doctrine taught*

in Holy Scripture" from which to depart was to depart from Scriptural truth.

What really destroyed the authority which the Confessions once held in Protestantism over the teaching of the Church was the rise of modern historical scholarship. The Westminster or any other Confession was seen as at best a magnificent attempt by men of one day to answer the questions which arose in that day, and to do so in the language and thought forms available to them. But the circumstances of the day changed and there was nothing final about the language or the thought forms.

(b). This negative point results, of course, not in a denigration of the Confessional Statements of the Reformation period, but in a new appreciation of their worth. Now we may take the historical setting of these documents with a new seriousness. For this reason we do not ask for their revision. Revision would only suggest that potentially they can be turned into permanently valid statements in their own terms of the great issues of Christian doctrine. What is more important, the new awareness of the historical context of the documents immediately, as in the case of scriptural writings, takes attention away from the propositional statements (which may be open to all kinds of philosophical or other objections if they are to be regarded as final and binding statements) and concentrates attention on the people who made this Confession. These men in their situation were compelled to confess their faith, under pressure; and they did so in such a way as to inspire in men of other ages a like faith certainly, but not an identical statement of it.

The Confessions of the Reformation then mark out the way we have come.

Properly understood they point to the fellowship of men and women to whom we would belong, and who were sustained by faith. They describe with immense majesty the way of God with men, focussed on Jesus Christ; to his Person and Work they bear a noble witness. We should be poorer without them. When the Church ceases to train its ministers to appreciate the logic and structure of their thought, students will come into the ministry with less disciplined minds and perhaps with flabby spirits. But wisdom did not die with our fathers any more than it was born with us; and it would be intolerable to be asked to believe that the Holy Spirit only guided the Church (i) to recognize the canon of Scripture; and (ii) to leave us some confessional documents in the 16th and 17th centuries. He is a living personal presence, and of that the Confessions themselves speak.

Having pointed to these places of renewal, uniting churches will implicitly and often explicitly have said much about the content of the Christian Faith. How they will say this, in summary form in a Basis of Union, in the setting-forth of liturgical norms, or in appended documentation, will vary from place to place. But when it has been done, the man of today will not unfairly ask: And how do we today confess our faith?

There is not time, and it is no part of my purpose on this occasion to outline the content of such a confessing act. This will in any case to some degree be conditioned by the circumstances of the country or region in which it is formulated as well as by the theological characteristics of an age in which all share. But one series of notes will surely be sounded by all: thanksgiving for God's gift of his Son

and of his Spirit in his Church, and of the way he has led us in the past; recognition of the God-given places where faith is born and fed; penitence at our failure to enter into the fullness of the Church's faith available to us in Christ Jesus; acknowledgement of his forgiving and enabling power among us; and a determination to go forward together knowing that our present union is not an end but a moment in the life of a Church *in via* which awaits the word of correction and blessing from her Lord in glory.

You will perhaps permit me one final word to those who are graduating, and in one form or another entering the Christian ministry. If, as I believe, we must look afresh (because of the pressures of union) at the way we hold the faith, what does this mean for the task of the Christian minister? It means, I think, that he is called—perhaps as never before—(in Daniel Jenkins' phrase) to maintain the Christian tradition in a state of fluidity. It calls for men who know the history of the Church so well that they can be loyal to it, without being bound by its transient characteristics. In a day when too much so-called theology is Philistine about the past, the Church needs a ministry characterized by reverence towards the past as well as openness to the future—or better, *because reverent and critical* of that past, truly capable of being open to the future. Michael Polenyi has said again and again about the whole intellectual enterprise that we must protect ourselves against scepticism by taking risk into our system. For Christian theologians and ministers this means that we must be prepared to live without guarantees, without the guarantee of an infallible book, or infallible creeds, or

an infallible Church; but it means living with these things, at these places critically, so that faith itself—and nothing more or less than faith—can be kindled and nourished.

Fr. Herbert McCabe, in what has now become a famous editorial in *New Blackfriars* of February 1967, wrote these words: "It is because we believe that the hierarchical institutions of the Roman Catholic Church, with all their decadence, their corruption and their sheer silliness, do in fact link us to areas of Christian truth beyond our own particular experience and ultimately to truths beyond any experience, that we remain and see our Christian lives in terms of remaining members of the Church." You will be fortunate if your experience of the institutional operations of the Church do not at some time in your life lead you to make an equivalent confession. But that is not my theme this morning. My theme is this: the biblical witness in all its fragility, the Sacraments of the Church in all their mystery bordering on obscurity, the creeds of Christendom with all their strange origin and remote language, the Confessions of the Reformation limited by polemic and the thought forms of their day, all these scandalously particular places do in fact link us to areas of Christian truth beyond our particular experience and ultimately to truths beyond any experience. Let us lay hold on them, as men with trained and critical minds, and let us do that which is in our power to do, to see that our contemporaries and their children lose nothing through our indolence, limitations, or faithlessness, of the vision of that truth—which is ultimately the vision of God, whose glory shone in the face of Jesus Christ.

NO, IF GOD ALLOWS, LET US GO ON

Farewell Message to the Class of 1967 by the President of the Seminary

JAMES I. McCORD

HERE is a sentence in the Letter to the Hebrews that provides the theme for these traditional words of farewell. The author had begun his letter, you will recall, on a note of finality. Jesus Christ is God's last word to man. All things have been put under his control. He has shared fully in man's every experience, standing under every threat man stands under, and is now recognized as a priest forever "after the order of Melchisedek." This is the great indicative of the Christian faith. But the problem to which Hebrews is addressed is a confused and hesitant church, one that has drifted away from its moorings and is tempted to let things go by default.

The author's antidote to this situation is not a summons to return to some ideal past or to go back to the faith of the fathers but, rather, to move forward to a new maturity and to possess the Christian faith in new full-ness. "Let us leave behind the elementary teaching about Christ," he urges, "and go forward to adult understanding. Let us not lay over and over again the foundation truths—repentance from the deeds which led to death, believing in God, baptism and laying-on of hands, belief in the life to come and the final Judgment. No, if God allows, let us go on." (6:1-3 after J. B. Phillips).

Let me urge you to go on from where you are now professionally. There is no sadder commentary on a man than to say that he was at his peak the day he

was graduated from seminary. Now you have your youth and whatever you have retained from reading and lectures. But this is only a beginning—and a precarious one at that. Never in modern memory has more been expected of a minister than today. A solid grounding in theological culture is still required, and openness to and acquaintance with a host of other disciplines have become well nigh indispensable. Standards everywhere are rising. You belong to a generation that will complete this century and begin another at a time when your nation and church have accepted leadership in the world. Do not let it be the leadership of merely dollars and power. Barbara Ward, perhaps today's most eloquent preacher, has warned: "To realize a vision only in material power and technical skill and to lose it in ideal and purpose is the ultimate barbarism. This is where we stand today." Grow up into a culture and competence commensurate with your position and responsibility. Avoid every form of anti-rationalism and anti-intellectualism, including the anti-intellectualism of the new activists. "No, if God allows, let us go on."

Let me also urge you to go on from where you are theologically. The problem in Hebrews, the commentators tell us, was the ABC Christians, those who had always to be taught but who could never teach. This breed is not yet extinct, either in the pulpit or in the pew. We in America have produced more

than our share of ABC ministers, who use the Scriptures as a mine from which they quarry proof texts and who lay over and over again the same foundation with the same tired jargon and the same rhetorical patter. There was some reason for the half-educated minister in the period of the frontier, but this phase of American life has long since ended and there can be no excuse for theological backwardness or illiteracy today.

Theology is not simply to be learned. It must also, and primarily, be done, and it is your responsibility to do the kind of theology that will enable modern man to see his life in the light of God's purpose and God's reconciling love. This will require a new opening to the world of culture and the world of science. And it will involve your taking seriously the God-question not only for alienated and parochial Western man but for the whole of mankind. You belong to a tradition that by definition has no classical theological era or system, and you begin at a time when the theology of the past generation has been judged and found wanting. You have had three years of theological inquiry, but you have only now acquired the tools for a life of theological activity. Before you lies the task of massive theological reconstruction that must be done by this generation.

Finally, let me urge you to go on

from where you are now in Christian action. If the last generation was forced by the ideological challenge to recover the living center of the faith, then you will be forced in a post-ideological era to move out from this center and to engage the great over-arching problems of the present with the Gospel of reconciliation. We have learned that a Gospel without application is not "good news," a faith that is not translated into deeds is an empty faith, and a church that is not deeply involved in the major concerns of a revolutionary age is less than the Church of Jesus Christ. Here again the imagery of the Epistle to the Hebrews is apt. In Chapter 13 Israel (the Church) is pictured as an armed camp that is beleaguered and cowering, jealously holding on to its traditions, when out of it emerges a "one-man expeditionary force" who breaks camp and challenges the Church to follow him outside the camp in order to fulfill her true mission.

No, if God allows, let us go on to the kind of personal, professional, and theological maturity that will make a difference in the Church and in the world. This is the glory of your profession. You are free men, participants in God's new creation, with nothing to lose and with the whole world before you.

THE REFORMATION IN AN ECUMENICAL AGE

GEORGE A. LINDBECK

I

It is of the heart of the Reformation that we shall speak this morning, namely, the doctrine of justification. What is its importance in our day, what is its relevance, and what does it have to say to us? These are questions so well-worn that I suspect tedium sweeps over you just to hear them repeated. The *justificatio impiorum* is no longer a battle cry which rouses our enthusiasm, and the very mention of this theme suggests either a tired attempt at Protestant triumphalism or a dryly technical historical or systematic analysis.

In short, we are in an ecumenical age, and the slogans which have divided Christians in the past are suspect. Even more important, we live in an historically relativistic age and are firmly convinced that the gospel must be proclaimed in new ways in every period. Perhaps justification *sola fide*, by faith alone, was the central word from the Lord in the 16th century, but we have our doubts about the twentieth. Must not the good news of Jesus Christ be formulated in quite different concepts and categories in order to speak to our contemporary needs and problems?

The ecumenical and the relativistic reasons for questioning the contemporary importance of the Reformation doctrine of justification are not unrelated. Indeed, it is precisely because we have been trained to think historically that Calvinists and Lutherans, that

Protestants and Catholics, can now make genuine progress towards resolving the doctrinal disputes of the past. Union efforts of previous centuries have foundered on the rock of compromise because compromise, while often a political good, is always a theological evil. Now, however, we no longer need to compromise away our differences. The historians have taught us to relativize them. Competing doctrinal formulation are generally related to different situations, to their own special problems, and are expressed in time and culture-bound languages and conceptualities. Each points towards only a part of the truth and can lay no claim to full or permanent adequacy. On their own level, they seem irreconcilable, just as irreconcilable as the blind men's diverse descriptions of the elephant as a rope, or a hose, or a wall. But from a new perspective, a different vantage point, what seemed contradictory often proves to be complementary.

These considerations are not confined to Protestants. Catholics now also embrace them with mounting fervor. It is because of this kind of historical specificity in the identification of the assertive force of a dogmatic statement that men like Hans Küng can plausibly argue that the Council of Trent and the Reformers are not in collision over justification. They say different, not opposite things.

And this technique of relativizing reconciliation, let it be noted, need not

involve any denial of the dogmatic or confessional formulations of the past. They are quite true within their original contexts. But when the contexts shift, the dogmas change their meaning. Consequently, to affirm the ancient truths, one must use new words, new concepts, for if one simply repeats the old, one betrays, rather than preserves them. In short, adherence to the historic affirmations of the faith requires reformulation, and reformulation in turn opens up at least the possibility of reconciliation.

It is, then, this kind of historical relativism—or, as my teacher of blessed memory H. Richard Niebuhr quite correctly preferred to say, “historical relationalism”—which constitutes the setting for the Reformation doctrine of justification in an ecumenical age. I do not propose to focus on the specifically ecumenical aspect, on the possibilities for reconciliation opened up within this setting. That has been well and repeatedly done, not only by Hans Küng, but by other Catholics like Rahner, Schillebeeckx, Pesch and Pfürtner, and, more cautiously and incompletely, by Lutherans like Joest and Schlink.

The more pressing problem is that of relevance and reformulation. But if we are going to approach this soberly and responsibly, we must first ask what was the import of the Reformation doctrine in its original context. We must inquire about the sense in which it was historically conditioned. Only then can we hope for some clarity on how to specify and express its abiding significance for the Christian community in the 20th century.

In dealing with these questions, our problem, I suspect, is not so much ig-

norance as confusion. We are overwhelmed by proposals and counter-proposals as to how to understand the doctrine of justification, and consequently my own purpose this morning is not at all to advance an original thesis, but to summarize and clarify certain major lines of current thinking.

II

In regard to the original Reformation doctrine of justification, there are, as always, endless scholarly disputes about how exactly to characterize it. Nevertheless, it is reasonably clear, I believe, that most of these arise from the intrusion of non-historical, systematic theological considerations. There are Barthian, existentialist, confessional Lutheran, and ecumenical ways of interpreting the Reformation. Each contemporary party wants to prove that it is the authentic heir of Luther (or, less frequently, Calvin). This vice, it seems to me, infects the writings of many of the most learned and original of the contemporary Luther scholars, of Ebeling, for example, who is probably the most brilliant of all. It seems almost impossible for Lutherans in particular to avoid doing systematic theology under the guise of Luther research, and this leads many to the historically hopeless quest for the essence, and even the exact date, of the Reformatory discovery.

There is, however, nothing inevitable or irremediable about this. As the example of biblical studies shows, it is possible to distinguish with fair—though, of course, not total—success between theological partisanship and historical scholarship. Once this is done, it is possible to identify something like a consensus, embracing Catholics as well as Protestants, on a purely histori-

cal description of the broad outlines of the Reformation position.

In brief, then, it is clear that the Reformation, especially the Lutheran, formulations were shaped by a specific problem, the problem of the terrified conscience, the problem vividly expressed by Luther's anguished cry, "How do I get a gracious God?" Three factors structure that question and its answer: first, a vivid apprehension of the absoluteness of God's demand; second, the acknowledgment of absolute failure; and, third, absolute trust in absolute love as the only remedy for this *impasse*. It is these three factors which mold the Reformation doctrine of justification *sola fide* and the concrete, palpitating experience of salvation which was its empirical correlate.

Let us remind ourselves in more detail of what they involve. First, the absolute demand—or Law, as Luther put it—is most sharply stated in Jesus' admonition to be perfect even as the Father in heaven is perfect (Matt. 5:48). We are called upon to be unconditionally loving and open, spontaneous and joyful, self-forgetting and self-sacrificing. This is utterly beyond our capacities, and so, in the second place, the absolute demand has as its corollary absolute failure. Measured by this law of total perfection, the most saintly of men and the most wicked are all equally miserable sinners. Thirdly, the only possible recourse is to absolutely free and absolutely powerful love, the almighty mercy and forgiveness promised to us in Christ Jesus. And in reference to this love, there is no possible response on the part of man except faith, that is, the trustful acceptance of God's mercy, of a righteousness not our own.

The Christian logic of the position is unassailable, and, as we mentioned, now many Catholics as well as Protestants are finding that they must assent to it in all its implications including the *simul justus et peccator*. But it is also clear that this message of the *sola fide* does not move us as it did our forefathers in the 16th century. It does not unleash revolutions in piety and conduct, and even society, as it did then. This brings us, then, to the limitations, the historical conditionedness of the Reformation formulations.

III

The first limitation is almost universally acknowledged even by relatively conservative Calvinist and Lutheran theologians. The language in which the Reformers expressed the doctrine of justification no longer speaks effectively in our day. Judicial categories, courtroom analogies, and theories of substitutionary atonement once swept the minds and emotions of the hearers irresistibly into an apprehension of God's judgment and God's grace. Now they are often worse than meaningless: they are repulsive or even ludicrous. Other images such as Luther's favorite one of the "blessed exchange" in which Christ takes our sins and gives us his goodness may not offend us, but neither do they captivate us. Clearly the words and concepts in which we speak of justification need to be reminted.

However, the search for the right formula has repeatedly proved abortive. The Lutheran World Federation studied the problem for years, but its supposedly fresh and modern statement on justification at the Helsinki assembly of 1963 was hard even for its authors to take seriously. In Protestant circles

in this country, Paul Tillich's proposal to think in terms of the "acceptance of the unacceptable" has had wide currency, but my impression is that its usefulness is limited. When often repeated as, for example, in the absolution after the confession of sins, it quickly turns into jargon.

This suggests, then, that the Reformation insights are limited in a second way. Not only were they originally clothed in words and concepts which are now largely outmoded, but the insights themselves were relevant to the 16th century situation in a way they no longer are to ours. The Reformation situation was one in which the absolute-ness of God's demand and the absolute-ness of man's failure were close to the surface of consciousness throughout an entire culture. The masses had been drilled in the conviction that the grace of *caritas* received in baptism, enabled the Christian to be perfectly loving, perfectly holy. If he was not, it was his fault. He had not tried hard enough. Fifteen hundred years of penitential discipline reinforced by a thousand years of Augustinianism had also made multitudes acutely aware that they fell far short of what they had been told they had the power to be. They knew themselves to be confronted by an angry God, and they were desperately concerned to placate him. They sought to do this by trying harder, by good works, whether in the form of pious practises, monastic discipline, almsgiving or a virtuous life. Within such a context, Luther's cry, "How do I get a gracious God?" quickly swelled into a mighty chorus, and his reply, "Trust God's mercy in Jesus Christ," was balm in Gilead to myriads of tortured souls.

There was, it should be noted, noth-

ing in this which contradicted one major Catholic tradition, the tradition of St. Augustine with its emphasis on salvation by grace alone. What the *sola fide* does is assert on the existential level of personal experience what Augustine maintained in more objectivizing terms by his doctrine of *sola gratia*. The Reformation was, it would seem, a deepening and extension of the main thrust of Augustine's thought, an extension which was made necessary by the development of new forms of theological and practical semi-Pelagianism which Augustine did not effectively exclude simply because he had never encountered them. Despite major differences in conceptualization, Luther's *sola fide* is an authentic expression within the late medieval setting of the concerns, not only of St. Paul, but of the Council of Orange.

However, the late medieval situation is not ours, and it is hopeless to try to recreate it, as some victims of nostalgia are wont to suggest, by preaching law and yet more law in a frenzied effort to lash our tired consciences into shuddering terror before the absoluteness of God's demand and the absoluteness of our failure. Luther and Calvin did not produce that particular form of guilt-ridden anxiety which was endemic in the Western Christendom of their day. Rather they focused on proclaiming the gospel, the good news, within that setting. If we suppose this particular setting is essential to Christian faith, if we busy ourselves trying to reconstitute it by visions of judgment, hell and total depravity, or by modernized equivalents, then we become preachers of bad news, not good news; we fundamentally contradict the Reformers even while appearing to be most faithful to

them. Once again the axiom is verified that literally to repeat past affirmations in a radically new context is, not to preserve, but to betray them.

It might be well to add in passing that this view does not involve taking sides in the dispute between Barthians and Lutherans over which comes first, law or gospel. The way in which that argument is generally conducted seems to me hopelessly confused because, to quote a colleague, Professor Paul Holmer, it overlooks that "law" and "gospel" often do not denote fixed entities which can be arranged in a definite order, but rather function as correlatives such as "up" and "down." The law which acts as a schoolmaster to bring men to Christ may sometimes be the Torah which includes ceremonial precepts (as it did for St. Paul), sometimes it may be more exclusively moral, as for the Reformers, and sometimes it may be the gospel of God's love and grace exposing our own lovelessness and gracelessness.

This simply illustrates once again the principle that the operational meaning of any doctrine, of any content, is relative to its context. Question and response are correlated as a matter of historical fact (which, to be sure, does not necessarily mean that systematic theology should be structured accordingly). In the New Testament, we recall, Jesus was proclaimed to the Jews as Messiah, as *Christos*, and to the Greeks as Lord, as *Kyrios*. For the early centuries in the East, Jesus Christ was primarily the answer to the problem of mortality, while in the West he was more the answer to the problem of morality. In some other age, though perhaps not in ours despite Paul Tillich's suggestion, the crisis may be one

of meaninglessness, not of the stricken and guilt-ridden conscience, and the most direct response may be formulated in terms of the New Being in Christ, not of forgiveness. In short, there is no point trying to cling to the Reformation pattern of theology, or of any theology, in a situation quite different from the one in which it was shaped.

But this critique cuts deeper than simply the question of relevance. Many scholars go farther and speak of the narrowness and distortions of the Reformer's understanding of the gospel, not only for our time, but in their day also. They disagree, to be sure, on how to describe these faults: one man's meat is another man's poison.

It is possible, nevertheless, to specify one widespread current of criticism which keeps emerging over and over again in various forms. This critique sometimes contains echoes of the social gospel or even of contemporary slogans such as religionless Christianity or Christian secularism. Bonhoeffer often lurks in the background, but so also do British process theologians like Archbishop Temple, Roman Catholics like Karl Rahner or Teilhard de Chardin, and most clearly, perhaps, the younger German quartet of Moltmann and Metz, Pannenberg and Sauter.

The critique reflects the general contemporary concern with relating the eschatological structure of biblical thought, as rediscovered by modern scholarship, to our contemporary situation. But it is not in the least reductionist. It is not in the least interested in cutting down the outrageously exalted biblical claims so that they will fit some pre-conceived modern scheme. Rather it asks what radically new, even if wholly improbable affirmations are

demanded by revelation when looked at from the contemporary perspective. Thus it does not de-objectify or wholly personalize the future consummation as do some contemporary existentialists. It is, one might say, more millennialist than existentialist, even though its millennialism is grounded on the critical historical study of scripture, not on literalistic proof-texting.

For it, contrary to the mainstream of eighteen hundred years or more of the mainstream of the Christian theology, the Kingdom of God once again moves to the fore. The central affirmation about Jesus is not that he is the God-Man or the Word of God speaking to us out of the past, but rather the Messiah, the one who is coming, the promise and first fruits of the restoration of all things. Easter rather than Good Friday, the resurrection rather than the crucifixion, becomes climactic for the faith just as it was in the early Church (although it must always be added that it is the resurrection of the crucified one which we celebrate, and therefore we have no excuse for a *theologia gloriae*).

From this perspective, the Reformation was only a partial recovery of the gospel. It perpetuated some of the most serious deficiencies of the tradition out of which it sprang, deficiencies which began developing in the immediate post-biblical period, indeed, even in the New Testament itself as is evidenced by the eschatology of II Peter.

In the first place, Christianity was quickly turned into a retrospective religion constantly looking backwards in time instead of concentrating, as did the early *kerygma*, on the future, the Coming Kingdom of God and the return of his Messiah. Secondly, and closely related to this, attention was

centered overwhelmingly on the salvation of the individual to the neglect of the cosmic and social dimensions of Christian faith, hope and action.

The consequence of this was, as biblical studies are making evident, that the Reformers failed even in the area of justification to do full justice to the scriptural, the Pauline doctrine. For St. Paul, as Ernst Käsemann puts it, justification is not primarily related to the individual, but it is rather accomplished in the eschatological establishment of the world-wide, reconciling rule of God.

Thus justification does not have to do primarily with forgiveness, at least when this is interpreted as the consolation of the stricken conscience. Rather, it must be described, much more comprehensively, as release from the old age and entrance into the new. Human beings are in bondage, not only or chiefly to their personal sinfulness, but also, to use St. Paul's language, to principalities and powers, to impersonal forces and structures of social and non-human evil. Liberation or redemption, therefore, is not simply the pardoning of the individual's guilt, but it is becoming a participant in God's creative purpose, set forth in Christ, "to unite all things in him, things on heaven and things on earth" (Ephesians 1:10). To be clothed in Christ's righteousness, as the Reformers phrased it, is to become a member of his body, to be reconciled with God in and through entrance into a reconciled humanity.

Thus, from the point of view of this critique, the Reformers' formulation of justification (and, indeed, the whole Augustinian development which culminated in that formulation) tragically narrowed the Christian faith by focus-

ing it too exclusively on the individual in his present condition of guilt and inauthenticity, thus neglecting the dimension of hope for mankind as a whole and for the cosmos. The doctrine of justification in its specifically sixteenth century form is not the permanently central affirmation of the Christian message. It is not in some unique sense the *articulis stantis et cadentis ecclesiae*, the article by which the church stands or falls. Like every other doctrinal formulation it is affected by historical relativity. What was of primary importance in the face of the problem of the terrified conscience becomes secondary in other situations.

To say that this doctrine is not central, however, is in no way to deny its truth. It is simply to say that the locus of the fight has shifted, that the enemy's fire is now concentrated on a different spot, and that therefore what seemed the basic bulwark of the faith in the sixteenth century is now seen as one defense among many.

Yet a bulwark which is not at the center of today's battles is still vital. If it is not maintained, the attackers may unobtrusively infiltrate and gain by a flank movement what they failed to win by frontal assault. Perhaps it is in some such way as this that we should picture the role of the Reformation emphases (as well as of other historic, but time-conditioned formulations such as the Christological and Trinitarian creeds of the fourth and fifth centuries).

From the viewpoint of New Testament eschatology, as we have mentioned, hope for the coming Kingdom, for the Lord's return, ought to shape our faith more fully than has generally been true in the past. The Reformation triad of God's absolute demand, man's

absolute failure and trust in God's forgiving mercy *pro me* are not constitutive of Christian proclamation and experience to the degree the sixteenth century thought. Yet these are essential affirmations. Their vivid apprehension belongs somewhere, if not at the beginning and center of the Christian life, then as part of what is meant by growth in grace. Stated paradoxically, the justified man may not be keenly aware of the factors the Reformers highlighted, but the sanctified, those who have made progress towards Christian maturity, will always be intensely conscious of them.

This is so because these affirmations are, as a matter of fact, true. It is simply true that the law requires perfection, that our depravity in the face of this imperative is total, and that we have no recourse except to God's unbounded mercy. It is disastrous to forget these truths, to forget the absolute demand to be truly and fully human, as truly and fully human as was Jesus Christ, to forget our total failure to be anything of the sort, to forget that nothing avails except trust that the merciful love we see in Jesus is the Almighty heart of the cosmic process. When we forget the absoluteness of the demand, the temptation is to become well-adjusted, psychologically healthy conformists who confuse sin with neurotic guilt and replace forgiveness with peace-of-mind gimmicks or psychoanalysis (which, to be sure, has its place, but not as a means of adjustment to the *status quo*). When we forget as we often do, the absoluteness of our failure, the good that we do becomes infected with self-righteousness, with a sense of superiority to the immoral, or the racially prejudiced or the war-

mongers. And when, acknowledging the demand and the failure, we try to cling to anything other than the Father we know through Jesus Christ, despair and hopelessness sweeps over us.

In conclusion, then, it would seem that the way towards the reformation of the Church in our day is not through attempts to revitalize the sixteenth century version of justification *sola fide*. It is not this which will move the multitudes or become the burning focus of the Christian faith. And yet any true renewal will bring with it a heightened awareness of what was for the Reformers the center. It will bring with it a keener sense of the law's demands because we see with increasing clarity in

our age that to be morally sensitive is to be concerned, not only for oneself and one's immediate neighbors, but to accept a share of personal responsibility for all men and for the future of all mankind. Those who recognize this staggering obligation, as the renewed man must, will know, as the Reformers did, about sin and failure, and the overwhelming need for mercy. Without this triad, summed up in justification *sola fide*, self-righteousness takes over or men lapse into indifference or despair. It is because they saw this so clearly that Luther and his fellow Reformers will forever remain among those fathers of the Church to whom we must return again and again.

A PRAYER IN OLD AGE

O most merciful God, cast me not off in time of old age; forsake me not if my strength faileth. May my hoary head be found in righteousness. Preserve my mind from dotage and imbecility, and my body from protracted disease and excruciating pain. Deliver me from despondency in my declining years, and enable me to bear with patience whatever may be Thy holy will. I humbly ask that my reason and my vision may be continued to the last, and that I may be comforted and supported, that I may leave my testimony in favor of the reality of religion, and the faithfulness of fulfilling Thy gracious promises; and when my spirit leaves this clay tenement, Lord Jesus, receive it.

Send some of the blessed angels to convey my inexperienced soul to the mansions which Thy love hath prepared; and may I have an abundant entrance ministered unto me in the Kingdom of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ. Amen.

(*Prayer used daily during the last year of his life by Archibald Alexander, D.D., the first member of the faculty at Princeton Theological Seminary. Professor of Didactic and Polemic Divinity, 1812-1851.*)

THE LIFE OF REPENTANCE

GEORGE S. HENDRY

From that time Jesus began to preach, saying, "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand."—Matt. 4:17

ACCORDING to Matthew's arrangement of the material, the first word Jesus uttered when he began his public ministry was "Repent." This, you could say, was the text, of which much of the preaching that followed was to be the exposition. The Sermon on the Mount, for instance—if you wanted a descriptive title for it like those which preachers give to their sermons today, "The Life of Repentance" would be as good as any. Probably no one ever understood this better than Luther; and there is a striking parallel here, for when he first entered the public arena, he began with the same text. We are approaching the 450th anniversary of the day when Luther affixed his 95 Theses to the door of the Church at Wittenberg, and the occasion will be appropriately observed by this Seminary when the time comes. Everybody knows about the historic event of October 31st, 1517, but not many have read the 95 Theses, and few could recite one of them. We should at least know the first one, and I want to call your attention to it now: "When our Lord and Master, Jesus Christ, said Repent, he meant the whole life of believers to be one of repentance." What did he mean by that?

Every one knows that what provoked Luther to take this action was a sale of indulgences that was being promoted in Germany. The theory of indulgences (as popularly understood) was that by paying a sum of money to the treasury

of the Church people could secure release from the pains of purgatory, either for their own souls or for those of the deceased. The promoters of the sale had little to learn from us of the arts of salesmanship; they even had a jingle, a kind of "singing commercial," which Luther mentions (Thesis 27):

"As soon as the coin in the coffer
rings,
The soul from purgatory springs."

It was not, however, the commercial aspect of the business that most disturbed Luther, though he had some sharp things to say about it. Had the practice been soundly based theologically, there might have been no offense here. The Church needs money for the ministries it has to fulfill, and in order to raise the money it has to make some kind of "sales pitch" (if the expression be pardoned). The United Presbyterian Church has recently completed a successful campaign for \$50 million. How did it do this? I doubt if any Presbyterian was persuaded to make a contribution with the inducement that it would help him to get rid of his sins. But if it is true that the true treasure of the church is the gospel of the grace of God, as Luther said in his 62nd Thesis, why do we not make this our "pitch"? We do not take it amiss that those physicians of the soul who practice their craft in the secular world and to whom we go with our psychic problems charge fees for their services—

and not nominal fees either. Perhaps the patient's *investment* in the therapeutic process may contribute to its success. Pastoral counseling is free, but if there is anything to Bonhoeffer's warning to the Church against purveying cheap grace, perhaps some of our current practices should be re-examined.

However that may be, it was not the mercenary side of the business that Luther found most offensive. To him that was only a symptom of a deeper evil, namely, that the nature of repentance itself was being debased. The heart of his concern is expressed in his first Thesis; as Luther understood it, repentance should be life-long, but the indulgence business had turned it into something that could be gotten over, disposed of, cured. To Luther it was incurable.

How is that possible? Clearly not if repentance is understood in moral terms, as it has commonly been. Every morally responsible person is conscious of moral failures and lapses which give rise to feelings of regret, remorse and guilt. These feelings are very unpleasant, and in certain conditions they can become toxic. But they are not insurmountable. They can be overcome, even turned to good effect. The morally responsible person does not waste his days in repining his past failures; he seeks ways to profit from them and turn them into steps to higher moral achievement. If he is one who uses the sacrament of penance, he looks for assistance through the performance of the prescribed satisfactions; if he listens to the psychologist, he will be encouraged with the suggestion that, though it makes him feel bad to take responsibility for what

he has done, he is "to go on with being responsible, that is, to be capable, in a future-oriented way, with capacity for appropriate response."¹ The idea that the whole life of believers should be one of repentance strikes him as morbid or grotesque.

But repentance is not remorse. They may feel much the same, but there is a world of difference between them. Paul refers to it one place where he makes a distinction between "godly sorrow" and "worldly sorrow" (2 Cor. 7:10). Godly sorrow, he says, produces a repentance that is "not to be repented of," meaning, it would seem, a repentance that is irreversible, that stays, that becomes the whole life. Worldly sorrow, on the other hand, produces death, by which I take him to mean, it leads nowhere. There is a repentance unto death as well as a repentance unto life (Acts 11:18), and the difference between them is a difference of horizon, as Paul indicates: one is the world and its morality, the other transcends the world and its morality.

Is there any way of moving from one horizon to the other, from remorse with which we can deal, to repentance with which we cannot? Not, it would seem, if we listen to the moral philosophers. It is true that many moral philosophers have found in morality a principle of transcendence or a metaphysical dimension, and some have used this as a base for a theistic argument. The best known is Kant with his argument for God as a postulate of the practical reason. We also meet arguments of a similar nature in the current revival of natural theology. In his recent book, *The Reality of God*, Schubert Ogden presents it

¹ Seward Hiltner, "Christian Understanding of Sin in the Light of Medicine and Psychiatry,"

Medical Arts and Sciences, XX, 2, p. 40.

in an interesting and revealing way. He argues that when we reflect on our experience as moral agents, we are led to "the limiting question," Why should I be moral at all? It is not the question of autonomy or heteronomy, but the question of the meaningfulness of morality in the scheme of things. This is a question which cannot be answered within the limits of morality. Only religion can give us the assurance—or rather the reassurance, because morality presupposes the assurance—that our moral choices and decisions are validated by reality.

It is clear that we are not getting anywhere near repentance along this road. On the contrary, it seems to lead in quite the opposite direction—toward reinforcing the assurance, or security of the moral agent. We can see this best if we observe how readily this line of argument can be translated into commercial terms: we want our moral securities to prove sound at the final closing of the stock market; moreover, the argument assumes that we are morally solvent, that we have moral capital to trade with. I find this assumption in much that is written about morality both by philosophers and theologians. There is one notable exception, and, surprisingly, it is none other than Kant. When he returned to the question, "the limiting question," in his old age, it presented itself to him in a different light: Why should I be moral?—that is to say, Why is moral something I *should* be or *ought* to be? And the answer he came up with was: because it is something I am not, because there is in me a radical evil which is at war with the good, that to overcome this evil I need a change of heart, and, Kant hints darkly, there might even

be divine grace to help me, though he hastens to add in his canny way that it would be irrational and immoral to count on it.

This was strange language to come from Kant, and we are not surprised that it shocked some of his contemporaries. He seemed to be issuing a call to repentance, and such a thought was intolerable to the men of the 1790s, and perhaps even to Kant himself, as his final reservation suggests.

Has it become more tolerable to us? Is repentance possible today?

We are living in a time of theological ferment. The most radical questions are being asked: How can we talk about God? Is God dead? Is there any meaning to transcendence? Is there any future for faith? All of these questions converge on this crucial question: Is repentance possible?

It is time to return to our text and look at that part of it we have ignored up till now. When Jesus began to preach, he said, "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." It is the kingdom he proclaimed that forms the horizon of his call to repentance. Mark's arrangement makes this even more clear (Mark 1:15). It is only the coming of the kingdom, announced by John, and present in Jesus, that makes repentance possible.

The coming of the kingdom is the coming of God himself, in grace and in judgment. The coming of God in his kingdom is the moment of transcendence; repentance is the moment of self-transcendence that is responsive to it.

But this is something which Luther, perhaps, did not grasp as clearly as he might. He saw repentance too much within the horizon of the law, the law

that judges and condemns, and by the same token he condemned the Christian believer to a paradoxical and ineffective kind of existence in a bifurcated world. He did not realize that the gospel of the kingdom is the coming of God to renew both man and the world.

But the powers of the kingdom cannot be contained. Sooner or later they will break out with volcanic force and in shocking ways.

It so happens that we are approaching another anniversary which will almost coincide with the anniversary of the Reformation. Fifty years ago, on November 7, 1917 (by our calendar), the Bolsheviks overthrew the provisional government in Petrograd and formed the socialist republic of workers and peasants, with Lenin president of the council of commissars. I have not heard of any plans for the observance of this anniversary here. But if we read the Bible, and particularly the Old Testament, we learn that in the politics of

God there is no respect for left or right, and, as several of the prophets proclaimed, God may use his left hand to put human life right.

What has all this to do with our approach to the Lord's table? The writer to the Hebrews in the passage that was read (Heb. 12:12-29) makes the point that it is just this kind of repentance, namely, openness to the coming of the Kingdom with its earth-shaking powers, that gives Christian worship its distinctive character. This is brought to a focus at the Lord's table. As Hebrews puts it allusively: it is a matter of knowing which mountain we have come to; we have not come to Mount Sinai with its memories of the law and its terrors, but to Mount Zion . . . and to Jesus the mediator of a new covenant. This is the Jesus who bids us repent in face of the Kingdom in the full range of the promise, which he brings: "Behold, I make all things new."

CHANGING MEN OR ALTERING SOCIETY

ERNEST T. CAMPBELL

Isaiah 58:3-8; I Corinthians 5:14-19

A YEAR ago this summer the World Council of Churches sponsored a conference on Church and Society. It was held in Geneva, Switzerland, and drew 400 delegates from all over the world, laymen and clergymen alike. Among other things, the conference lamented the fact that anti-semitism is still an issue among Christians; confirmed the Biblical basis of monogamous marriage; warned against escalation of the war in Vietnam; and denounced the white supremacy regime of Ian Smith in Rhodesia.

In a subsequent issue of *The Presbyterian Journal* Billy Graham responded to the conference and its findings. The noted evangelist asserted that pronouncements of this nature are frequently made "as though society were made up of truly Christian men." He went on to say that injustices cannot be redressed as long as men remain spiritually unchanged and that once men are converted they will have the power to love.

The issue is anything but academic. William Buckley and William Coffin debated the matter vigorously for an hour on television recently. Though we are only minutes into this sermon most of us have come down hard with both feet on one side or the other. Is it the business of the Church to change men or alter society? Too often the question is met with heat instead of light.

I

Billy Graham has a point. Socially involved churchmen tend to assume

that there are more Christians in our society than there really are. It is both illogical and disillusioning to expect Christian responses from people who are void of Christian commitment. The ethical injunctions of Scripture are, without exception, addressed to men of faith. The ten commandments were not delivered to the world at large but to Israel, the covenant people. For this reason the decalogue should never be read apart from the prologue. "I am the Lord thy God who brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage"—therefore! The Red Sea came before Sinai. A minister friend was quite correct when he entitled his sermons on the ten commandments "Because God loves you, you shall not steal," "Because God loves you, you shall not commit adultery," and so forth.

Prophetic pleas for justice were not directed toward Egypt or Babylon or Assyria, but toward Israel and Judah. I Corinthians 13 is not "the moral code" as a pretty co-ed thought who had heard it in a wedding ceremony. This landmark chapter in which love is celebrated and described is addressed to Christians who had both heard of the love of God and experienced it. Similarly New Testament counsel regarding purity, forgiveness, temperance, meekness, and all the other hallmarks of Christian living is laid upon believers in Rome, in Corinth, in Philippi, and so forth. Philippe Maury sounds a warning well worth our attention when

he writes, "We cannot know the content of the ethic of faith without first passing through the experience of faith. Every attempt to apply directly the ethical texts of the Bible without passing through the medium of faith is bound to lead to a moralizing and legalistic formalism, which is contrary to the gospel."¹ Our first and perhaps our only word to the man outside is "Repent and believe!" It is in its favor that the Confession of '67 is addressed not to the world but to the Church.

It is disillusioning to assume that there are more Christians in society than there really are because we tend to expect better results than we get. Because our expectations go largely unrealized we deal increasingly with reachable but superficial prescriptions for the ills of the human family. By tinkering with the political, moral and economic arrangements under which men live we may relieve the pressure for some without producing abiding or substantial change.

A while ago a forty-block area in east New York was marked off for urban renewal. A *New York Times* reporter dropped by some months later to ask how the clean-up was going. An embittered merchant in the district snorted, "A clean-up? They're cleaning up who? Not *what* but *who*?" The businessman went on to say that the main problem was not cleaning up and fixing things, but ridding the changing community of groups of young toughs who take the law—and sometimes the

residents as well—into their own hands.²

I believe with Billy Graham that the gospel can change human nature. People can be remade from the inside out. Oscar Wilde was wrong in believing that "there is no such thing as changing one's life: one merely wanders round and round within the circle of one's own personality."³ In Jesus Christ the old can pass away and the new can come. The weather of a man's heart can be improved. Paul Tournier gives this hope the backing of psychiatry when he writes, "We may still see today men delivered from the chain of their natural reactions after experiencing the grace of God. We see sick people regain physical vitality; we see neurotics delivered from psychological inhibitions on which sometimes even the best treatment has had no effect. But we also see the strong becoming gentle; we see them throwing off the armour-plating which imprisons them, their armour of health, insensitiveness, and self-confidence."⁴

The gospel song is surely nourished by the New Testament when it affirms that:

Down in the human heart, crushed
by the tempter,
Feelings lie buried that grace can
restore.
Touched by a loving hand wakened
by kindness
Chords that were broken can
vibrate once more.

Changed people can make a telling difference in any society. Lord Moulton

¹ Philippe Maury, *Politics and Evangelism*, Doubleday & Company, Inc., New York, 1959, p. 54.

² *The New York Times*, March 24, 1966.

³ *The New York Times Book Review*, October 28, 1962, p. 60.

⁴ Paul Tournier, *The Strong and the Weak*, Harper & Row, New York, p. 208.

puts us in mind of a truth easily forgotten today when he observed that "the greatness of a nation lies in the number of its citizens who yield obedience to the unenforceable laws." This dictum becomes more relevant than ever in a secular society in which any divine sanction for the state is denied.

One cannot but agree with Billy Graham that socially involved churchmen tend to assume that there are more Christians in society than there are.

II

But Billy Graham is guilty of an equally untenable assumption in believing that once men and women are led to Jesus Christ they will automatically do the right thing in all of their relationships. Experience teaches that this is simply not the case. And for many reasons.

For one thing there is a tendency in human nature to remain aloof from involved questions of social righteousness. Arend Th. van Leeuwen sounds the truth of the matter when he says: "Ninety-nine per cent of people, irrespective of race, play a passive as opposed to a creative role; and even the creative section are passive with regard to ninety-nine per cent of their civilization."⁵ It is apparent that not many Christians distinguish themselves by emerging from this apathy.

But worse, not infrequently an experience of the grace of God will actually pull people away from the problems of the world into the cozy reassuring shelter of the Church. A young minister from Alabama kindly offered to drive me in the dead of night from Montreat to Atlanta during the airline

strike last summer. He was disturbed by the Church's action in political and social matters. With obvious sincerity he grabbed the steering wheel tightly and said that once men were right with God in their hearts all these other problems would clear up. I asked him how many people in his native state he thought were right with God. Seventy-five per cent? He held for a figure more like thirty per cent. Even so, I insisted, if just thirty per cent of the people in any given town in Alabama determined to change the folkways of the state, they could. Thirty per cent would be more than enough, for example, to give the electorate something better in the gubernatorial race than a choice between two segregationists! We are not involved because we never intended to be. Our experience of grace separates us from nature. This should not be. The Holy Spirit who indwells the Christian is the selfsame spirit who brought order out of chaos on creation's morning.

Moreover, knowing the right thing to do in society requires more than a heart warming experience of love, it requires thought and reflection as well. Such knowledge cannot be expected as a mere reflex of religious experience. Justice involves the careful weighing and adjudicating of rival claims. In his *Situation Ethics* Joseph Fletcher reminds us of the four kinds of justice that Aristotle delineated. A cursory glance at the list should be enough to make us humble in this area. There is *commutative* justice that has to do with one to one obligations; *distributive* justice that deals with the many to the one; *contributive* justice that has to do with the one to the many; and *corporative*

⁵ Arend Th. van Leeuwen, *Christianity in World History*, Edinburgh House Press, Lon-

justice that deals with the many to the many.

Let's come down to specific issues very much alive in our world today. If a city plans a four-lane by-pass for through-traffic, where should the by-pass be located? Whose farm shall be clipped? Whose sleep shall be interrupted by the steady whir of traffic? What is a just farm subsidy? What are the marks of a fair sign ordinance? What is the just ratio for a university to observe between graduate and undergraduate students? What is a just wage for the policeman on his beat? What is an equitable draft law? How long is a doctor obliged to keep a dying patient alive? How do we determine the balance between the rights of society and the rights of a criminal before the law? It is naive to assume that simply because one is a Christian he will know what the just thing is in these and similar matters.

But even beyond this, to effect the justice we know requires something more than love. It demands political savvy and some understanding of the dynamics of change that operate in human society. At times justice is effected at the round table—as in the mediation of a strike. Sometimes legislation does it—as with the measure of justice granted the American Indian by Congress. Occasionally a boycott becomes the useful instrument—witness the bus boycott in Montgomery that launched the Civil Rights movement. At other times justice can come nearer realization when political incumbents are swept out of office in favor of new representatives. The schools of Arlington County, Virginia, were integrated without the firing of a shot by this method.

At times a community information program does the trick—bringing injustices to light and reducing the fear of change. At other times demonstrations, the language of the unheard, give visibility to bad laws and set change in motion.

An experience of grace should make us willing, indeed eager to be just, but it does not equip us to be just automatically. In fact, we Christians have no monopoly on justice. We can learn from all men and work with all men of good will in quest of liberty and justice for all.

We have no monopoly on justice, but we have the largest possible stake in it. It is by our concern for justice that we win a hearing for the gospel. Systems and structures are not neutral. They are not simply there. They can and do forward or retard God's will for men. Our indifference to the political, social and economic arrangements that damage human life will produce an answering indifference to the gospel. Bruce Kenrick makes this painfully clear in his book on the East Harlem Protestant Parish when he writes, "Most of East Harlem's residents held that if God wasn't interested in their world, in their plumbing, in their Welfare allowance, in their need for good police, if God wasn't interested in such earthly issues, then they just weren't interested in God—He was irrelevant."⁶

CONCLUSION

Are we here to change men or alter society? We are called not to either but to both. Our concern is for the structures that men inhabit and for the men who inhabit the structures. Some churchmen assume that there are more

⁶ Bruce Kenrick, *Come Out the Wilderness*, Harper & Row, New York, 1962, p. 168.

Christians in society than there really are. Other churchmen assume that the man who knows God in an act of personal faith will be just automatically. I

see it to be my ministry to bring men to faith in Christ and to battle against all that dehumanizes life.

TWILIGHT FOR THE GODS

Welcome twilight coolness becomes the chill of fear:
"Where are you, Man?" Why try to hide
the way you have become like gods—take the twilight
for your own. You chose—now live in world
where flitting shadows obscure all further choice.
Time for you will now begin,
clocked by hastening shadows which shorten with the hope of dawn
and lengthen, threaten into that Valley
where waits the final Shadow.

And thus Man lived and worked and dreamed and died.
First son could not stand to stand in shadow
of the second and marked the earth with murder.
Later sons began to build a thing to cast the tallest shadow
but shadow-strong it fell and crushed their glory.

The earth was not devoid of light which lends
all things their form and colors. Man's children
found their beauty and their terror in the play
of light with shade. The dappled things grew dear
to poets, chiaroscuro the depths of painters' skill.
Philosophers dreamed of freedom from images
before the fire within the Cave, and dreamers mined
philosophy to measure images.

The Father, moved but undismayed, loved light
and darkness and the times between, his creatures all.
He chose him men to shadow forth in hints
his truth and grace until the unveiling
of a mighty Rock whose shadow should circumscribe
the kingdom where all shall dwell in peace.

Man loved not Light which to his weakened eyes
was unapproachable, so God made fragile Jewish flesh
to be his shade. His Spirit overshadowed her
and he dwelt, unresentful, among his blinded brothers.
Men loved not even shaded light and ordered him
onward to the darkest Valley. But light
unquenchable could not stay dimmed, and those who saw,
however dimly, it flare forth new began emerging
from the shadows.

In this time between the light and the light,
shadows still record our fleeting lives; we still love
the play of light with shade and so we must.
Yet at times vision of light come and to come
consumes us, torchlike, and urges us to stumble
toward the city whose light cannot be hid:
"And the city has no need of sun or moon to shine upon it,
for the glory of God is its light, and its lamp is the Lamb.
By its light shall the nations walk;
and the kings of the earth shall bring their glory into it,
and its gates shall never be shut by day—
and there shall be no night there."

—Submitted as a creative writing assignment in *Preaching Practicum I*
by Carol Moseley (A.B., Stanford; B.D. Princeton, Class of 1969).

THE THIRD AMERICAN REVOLUTION

GEORGE M. DOCHERTY

STOKELY CARMICHAEL concerns me. Stokely is one of several literate, passionate, fearless young men the fiery Negro revolution has brought to the forefront of television cameras and news headlines. He is, in contemporary jargon, a new breed of cat. He despises "Uncle Tom," holds all white men in aloof contempt with a dash of pity if they try to become involved in Civil Rights. He is widely read, particularly in Marxism. He brings to an overwhelming power of public utterance a deceptive dialectic and declares, like a town crier, the advent of Black Power.¹

Stokely has been visiting Hanoi and Cuba. On newsreel the other evening, I watched him receive a standing ovation at a Viet Cong meeting as he declared his unqualified support and compassion for the North Vietnamese people. In Cuba he received a hero's welcome as becomes one who is the American symbol of Cuba's proletarian revolution. Nothing deters Stokely. And he knows perfectly well that as soon as he returns to these United States, he must face all sorts of legal reckonings with the State Department Passport Division.

Stokely Carmichael has become a catalyst for violent action by Negroes corralled in city ghettos, particularly in

¹ "Black people in this country are oppressed for one reason—and that's because of their color. . . . Their rally cry must be the issue around which they are oppressed. . . . Black Power just means black people coming together and getting people to represent their needs and to stop that oppression." Stokely Carmichael in the *Amsterdam News*, July 16, 1966. Quoted from *White Re-*

the North. His place in history is already assured, if for no other reason than his compelling the Congress of these United States to take notice of him and inciting them in a mood of high emotion to tread rather precariously upon that most sensitive nerve of American life—freedom of speech—by enacting a bill that declared in effect that it is illegal for any person to cross a state line for the purpose of making inflammatory speeches inciting to riot. The bill has already raised its own problems by leaving to lawyers the task of demarcating the razor-edge ridge between the constitutional right of citizens peaceably to assemble and to air their grievances, and what might be described as licentious speech.

Stokely Carmichael is a latter-day Robespierre of the American revolution. The passionate cry of "liberty, fraternity, and equality" of Robespierre was to end in violence and the thud and groans of the guillotine. Carmichael's call to the Negro, "Unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains," has been a baptism of fire across the land, leaving in its wake smouldering cities and death and the crunch of tanks in city streets.

While these facts about Stokely Carmichael are well known, the book *Reflections on Black Power*, by Charles E. Fager, one of the few white people I know who has been able to write about the Negro problem with dedicated compassion and academic objectivity, born out of personal experiences in the cause of Negro justice in the South. (William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1967.)

michael ought to concern all of us, my personal concern as a minister of the Gospel lies deeper. I feel a haunting, gnawing sense of guilt that I have been in some ways responsible for the apotheosis of this young rebel. Stokely used to be one of our boys in my church. With several young, alert Howard University students, he came to help us out in our inner-city work at, I believe, the princely sum of \$1.00 per hour—much needed pocket money for the students and additional supervision for us.

He would pass me in the hallway with a smile or listen to me as I expressed appreciation for the "good works" in which the students were assisting, as we sought to encounter, if you will, redeem those leaderless, aimless young Negroes who sauntered at our street corners. Our Community Club became for them a sanctuary from hustling and angry police, a place to talk, to play, to listen to music, to dance—and some there were who remained to pray. I have since learned that Stokely in those days entertained serious thoughts about entering the Christian ministry. I cannot recall, however, that I ever sat down with the lad and asked him about his beliefs or probed into the hostilities in his warring heart that grieved within him. Looking back now I know I must have seemed to him the senior minister of a well-meaning but irrelevant church, immunized by stale tradition against the cries of the ghetto. The little help I once could have given him is now of no avail.

Perhaps my own sense of personal failure is a symbol of the failure of the whole Church to take costingly our pious affirmations about the Good News of the Gospel and incarnate them in so-

cial action and compassion for all persons. Where did I fail Stokely? Wherein did the Church fail? The answer is a long and tragic tale.

The First American Revolution

Stokely Carmichael was really born on the 4th of July, 1776. History books tell us that on that historic date, a Congress of the United States comprising representatives of the Thirteen Colonies, meeting in Philadelphia, finally passed a document that has come to be known as the Declaration of Independence.

Thomas Jefferson and his colleagues had done their homework well. In the annals of human affairs the Declaration of Independence is an epochal document to be numbered with such as the Magna Charta that was laid down before King John in the days of England's Runnymede meadows. Out of the Declaration of Independence was born a remarkable experiment in human affairs. It was based upon what theologians would call a Pelagian view of Man. Nevertheless, despite John Calvin to the contrary, and the pessimism of Karl Marx, and the incipient fascism of the John Birchers, democracy as we know it in these United States has bungled through until today among the nations it is regarded as the wonder of all the grey world.

But Thomas Jefferson and the other fathers of the nation could not be expected to appreciate, when this atomic ideology of freedom and justice for all men was let loose upon the world, the magnitude of the chain reaction it set up in human affairs billowing in ever-widening circles across the world and down the years. The fathers of the nation could not be expected to realize that some 190 years later their historic

declaration would bring to birth a Stokely Carmichael whose mission in life would be to challenge the hypocrisy of a nation whose words and deeds are not one but two. Let us remind ourselves of that first germinal paragraph taken from the Declaration of Independence.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness—That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just power from the consent of the governed, that whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive to these Ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying as its Foundation on such Principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

Two preliminary comments might be made on the Revolutionary War.

Initially, the cry of the thirteen colonies was not for independence from the mother country, but for freedom in dealing with their own affairs. The objection was to "legislation without representation" of the colonies in the British parliament. It was war which made inevitable the final breach. Nevertheless, even the war itself was a civil war among the colonists, despite the invasion of British troops and the support that was ultimately to come from French forces. The issue was liberty. Thomas Jefferson's mentor was the English philosopher John Locke whose

concepts of human freedom and dignity provided the philosophic basis for the political philosophy behind the Declaration of Independence.

Every war is tragic, but this one was tragically unnecessary. A wistful question could be, "What would have happened if Britain had accepted the terms demanded by the colonies, instead of embarking upon a conflict which, from the beginning, was doomed to fail?" Or, "What would have happened to these United States if King George III had been sane?"

Secondly, the first American revolution zeroed in upon political principles. After the war, the social life of the colonies was practically unchanged. Morrison and Comminger remind us that "important as the reforms were, it would be an exaggeration to describe the American Revolution as a social revolution, like those of France and Russia. No class as such was expropriated, slavery was not abolished, the structure of society was not altered. The revolution was primarily political, like the English Revolution of 1640-60."²

It is true that the Northern States put into the statute books in one form or another certain provisions for the freeing of the slaves. With the Southern States, it was different. The presence of Negro labor was essential for the continuation of southern plantation economy. The invention of the cotton gin merely hardened the enslavement of the Negroes.

The fathers of the nation, particularly Thomas Jefferson, were well aware that the existence of Negro slavery was a cancerous contradiction at the very heart of the political philosophy upon

² Morrison and Comminger, *The History of the United States*, Vol. I, p. 247.

which the new democracy was built. When the slave status of the Negro raised its tragic head, writers of the day either regarded the Negro as a necessary exception to the Constitution on the grounds that the economic life of the nation, particularly in the plantations of the South, would be in jeopardy. Some others rationalized the whole problem by looking upon the Negro as not merely a second-class citizen, but in much the same way aboriginal tribes are regarded by some in Australia and South Africa, as being not quite evolved into the stature and status of a human being.

Officially, the Christian Church through its preachers sought to identify the Gospel message with the secular order, though there were exceptions. Some Christian preachers tried to rationalize the inherent contradiction within the Declaration of Independence by searching the Scripture for such proof-texts as in the story of Noah's curse on his grandson Canaan. "Cursed be Canaan; a slave of slaves he shall be to his brothers" (Genesis 9:25). (Despite the fact that it was Canaan's father, Ham, who had gazed upon the nakedness of his father, Noah.) This is only another tragic instance of the preaching of the Church making use of the living Word of God to preserve peace with a culture which stands under the judgment of God. To this day, this ethnological myth dies hard, and still lives, for instance, within the theology of the Mormon Church. Thomas Jefferson was uneasy over this basic contradiction. He was also sensitive to the valid criticisms leveled at him by his friends in Europe, especially the French. It was concerning the place of the Negro in the life of the emerging na-

tion that Jefferson wrote, "I tremble for my country; when I reflect that God is just; that his justice cannot sleep forever."

The Second American Revolution

Almost one hundred years later, the fitfully slumbering justice of God awoke. The Civil War (1861-65) broke with terrifying crescendo upon the young nation. Again the conflict was a civil war. Mr. Lincoln affirmed again and again that his purpose was the "preservation of the Union."

Once more the crucial factor that was disrupting the nation was the contradiction that lay at the heart of this great Magna Charta for personal freedom. If all men are created equal, if they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, as the Declaration of Independence majestically stated, what place was there for the institution of slavery in a country founded upon this great principle?

The severing of the ties that united North with South lay at a deeper level than two societies, one an urban industrial North and the other an agrarian plantation South. It was the contradiction between philosophy and practice that the Declaration of Independence challenged.

If the War of Independence left the social structures of the nation untouched, the Civil War completely destroyed the *ante-bellum* society, and particularly, the social structure of the South. The abolition of slavery brought to an end the old aristocratic culture of the South. Military occupation for fifteen years after the war upon a proud and stately people, created the chaos into which Northern carpet-baggers and self-righteous plunderers all but dev-

astated a dignified and proud South.

Legally, to the slave, emancipated and "forever free," there opened up the new world of freedom, of full citizenship, of equal education and opportunity. The Union *had* been preserved, and the Negro was free.

The Third American Revolution

The Great Experiment, however, was to discover the intractable factor of human nature. There is an almost unbridgeable gulf between the ideal of statehood and the brute facts of life; between the laws on a statute book and the enactment of these laws. Legally the slave was free; in practice, he was still a third-class citizen living in a society that segregated him from full participation in the exciting life of the growing nation. "Segregation" was the brutal word; segregated travel, dining rooms, education and even playgrounds. He was segregated from the so-called "brotherhoods" of Trade Unions and the fraternity of higher education. All sorts of devices excluded the Negro from the most important mark of any democratic society—the voting booth. Politically, the nation was united; officially, social distinctions had been abolished by the law. The most important revolt was yet to take place—that subtle relationship that we call personal; the recognition of the rights of each man, not because the law dictates. The heart had still to accept the Negro as a person worthy of being my neighbor, comrade and even a member of my family.

Given such inflammable ingredients, it does not take much fire to start a revolution. In the First Revolution a few red coat soldiers came through the morning mist into the square of Lex-

ington. History describes the event as a massacre. In terms of historical perspective, it was little more than a skirmish. Some eight or nine colonists fell mortally wounded, but the sound of this gunfire echoed across the world.

Who was to imagine that the first shots at Fort Sumter would initiate the most terrible war that the United States has ever known? (More people were killed in the Civil War than in all the wars in which the United States has been involved).

In an almost trivial manner did the Third American Revolution descend upon the nation.

In downtown Montgomery, Alabama, on December 1, 1955, a little Negro lady, Mama Rosa Parks, had spent a busy morning shopping. She was tired. She boarded a public bus. The bus was full except for one seat in front of the bus. There she sat down. A white, male passenger boarded the bus and ordered her to the back of the vehicle. Mama Rosa Parks was not surprised at such treatment. She had known it all her life. But for some inexplicable reason, she refused to move. Perhaps she recalled how a teacher had taught her about the Declaration of Independence and how Mr. Jefferson had written that all men were created equal; this is doubtful. Perhaps she recalled the childhood stories her mother told just before she slipped into deep slumber at the end of the day about Mr. Lincoln and the Emancipation Proclamation and how the slaves would be "forever free." Even this is unlikely. The point is, Mama Rosa Parks refused to move. The bus was halted. There was no violence. A police officer came and led her away to prison.

For the next ten years the nation was

to witness the revolt of the Negro people against the illegal devices of the power structures to defy implementation of the law.

The Supreme Court ruled that all public schools must be desegregated, yet it took an invasion by Federal troops into the little town of Little Rock to protect the Negro students going to school led by the hands of parents who were taking seriously the law of the land.

In Nashville, Tennessee, a group of college students decided to test the segregated restaurants. They were hustled, beaten, thrown to the ground, yet with amazing fortitude persisted in their right to eat in a public dining place. When at last the Negro community of Nashville took up the cause of these young Negroes and threatened to boycott the downtown shopping area, the merchants capitulated rather than stand a fifteen million dollar a year loss on sales.

James Meredith, a Negro student with academic and state qualification, decided that he would attend the University of Mississippi. Backed up by Federal support from the President, he encountered face to face at the door of the University, Governor Barnett, and demanded admission in the name of the law. Permission was granted.

In 1965 the Southern Christian Leadership of ministers under the leadership of the Reverend Martin Luther King decided to challenge the segregated ballot box. Selma, Alabama, was chosen. Again the revolt was bloody but successful. The brutal murder of a young white minister, the Reverend James Reeb, galvanized the President and Congress into action. Two Civil Rights bills were immediately enacted; Fed-

eral oversight of registration of voters put an end to iniquitous literacy tests and other subterfuges that had made it almost impossible for the Negro to register to vote.

The highlight of this Third American Revolution seemed to be the great march on Montgomery, Alabama, when some 25,000 citizens, white and Negro, from the four corners of the nation, gathered in front of the historic Capitol in Montgomery, demanding to see Governor Wallace. (He refused to receive a deputation, but was reported to have watched the demonstration with some astonishment through the slats of his office blinds.) There was no violence. The Federal troops and the National Guard lined the streets and kept the peace.

Those who actively participated in these events look back upon them as of great historical significance. One was aware of being part of a great historic moment. The Third American Revolution was adding new names to history. Medger Evers, James Lee Jackson, the Rev. James Reeb, and a multitude of others of whom we were not worthy.

Never before in its history has Congress enacted so many pieces of legislation for the righting of social wrongs. Never before in such a short period, has the Negro community become aware that their cause was being supported by the great majority of the citizens. It seemed that peace and progress were to be the trend in our racial relationship.

Then, quite suddenly, Watts, Los Angeles, blew up in a violent demonstration of arson, looting and destruction. Just when we believed that this might be the last gasp of violence, 1967 became a long, hot summer. Newark, Detroit, Plainfield, Cleveland, Chicago

exploded. And the other cities, including Washington, awaited tremblingly for the next explosion.

The voice that calls to arms is that of Stokely Carmichael. The rallying cry is Black Power. And the end is not yet, by any stretch of the imagination, in sight.

It is beyond my competence to try either to explain or to justify this new development in the Third American Revolution. It is also outside the scope of this article. One thing is certain to me. The Christian Church in its official impact upon the nation is being called to a reckoning of her own life and witness. An official Church that has not yet found a full place in its membership for Negroes, that remains possibly the last bastion of the old separationist cry that Negroes should worship in their own churches, must face up to a double reckoning. Such a Church is giving aid to the forces that would try to by-pass the implications of its Constitution. Far more serious for the soul of the country and the Church, it is denying the Lordship of Christ for all men, and the call to all men into the fellowship of his Body which is the Church. Such ecclesiastical apartheid corrupts the soul of the white Christian.

What the Negro wants we cannot give since it is not ours to give: it is his inalienable right as a citizen to be treated as an equal. What the Gospel demands is not for us to dilute: it was for all men that the Christ died.

The call to the Church is movingly illustrated in St. John 21:1-17, where our Lord meets with some of the disciples after his Resurrection and shares with them, after the night's fishing, the bread and fish of a picnic breakfast at the lakeside. Of Peter, the Risen Lord,

asks the three-fold question. "Simon, son of John, do you love me more than these?" To which Peter, with increasing insistence, declares that he does love his Lord and Master. Thus, three times he affirms to redeem the three times he has denied.

When Peter affirms, note the demand that the Master makes upon him. The Christ could have said, "If you love me, go out and teach men about me!" How can the world be redeemed unless men are taught the good news of God in Jesus Christ? Yet this was not the call.

Perhaps far more surprising, the Master did not say, "Go out and preach." How can the Word be heard without a preacher?

"Feed my lambs, feed my sheep," is the call to Peter and every disciple who would follow the Master. A shepherd neither writes theses nor preaches sermons. He identifies himself with the needs of his flock—he feeds his flock.

Once Richard Baxter seeing a drunkard declared, "There but for the grace of God go I." A noble sentiment, but not the Gospel. He might have said on beholding that drunk man, "There go I, Richard Baxter," for we are all involved in the sufferings of our fellow men. "No man is an island," wrote John Donne. Yet even this noble sentiment is not quite the Gospel. If Richard Baxter on seeing the drunkard had declared, "There goes Jesus Christ," he would have been confirming the very essence of the Incarnation which is the self-identification of the Christ with all suffering humanity.

For every child that dies of hunger in the villages of India, the Babe of Bethlehem dies. For every young soldier, friend and foe, who dies in the rice paddies of Vietnam, the Christ is

crucified again. For every family that has no safe place to rest, no adequate food to eat, the Holy Family suffers and the boy Jesus aches.

While we were busy with Church business and excited about ecumenicity and preaching our wordy sermons, the sheep have perished or are lost. "The hungry sheep look and are not fed" with arid discourses or profound theology. They long for the bread of love and compassion and service that is the call of the Church in our time.

Like others, my wife and I have our little Negro family that we help and pamper and try to keep straight with the law and the welfare authorities. There was a period when we thought that this was what Gertrude and her brood wanted from us. But Gertrude wanted more than our bread. She even wanted more than our company at her table sharing her Negro cooking. When, on such an occasion, she looked into the eyes of my wife, and woman encountered woman, and Christian looked

upon Christian, it was arms of love she sought most of all. And my wife knew as she laid her head upon the ample bosom of Gertrude and together in silence they sat at the table sharing her humble fare, this meal had become sacramental, and John once more was laying his head upon the bosom of his Lord on that night of betrayal.

"Feed my lambs," cries the Master. In sharing life with the Negro, we are feeding the Lamb of God.

My soul is concerned about Stokely Carmichael. What if Stokely, despite his Marxist theories and his Black Power thesis, with his eloquent and fearless passion for his people is none other than the judgment of God upon a Church that listened not to the cry of the hungry and the lost, and closed the doors of its soul to the stranger with his black skin and odd ways? What if in shutting out the Negro, we have closed the door of the Church and our souls upon the Christ?

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF SAMUEL ZWEMER

J. CHRISTY WILSON

SAMUEL MARINUS ZWEMER has been termed the flaming apostle who awakened the churches of America and Europe to their missionary responsibility in the world of Islam. He was the man who had the divine audacity to choose for his missionary labor the most difficult field in all the world—he found it in Arabia, the homeland of Islam, the greatest rival of Christianity as a world religion.

Simply to get the vital statistics into the record, as this will be an appraisal rather than a biographical sketch, may I say Zwemer was born April 12, 1867, in the Dutch Reformed manse at Vriesland, Michigan. He died in the Presbyterian Hospital Convalescent Home on the Hudson, above New York City on Wednesday, April 2, 1952, just ten days before he would have been 85 years old.

Samuel was the thirteenth of fifteen children in the family; and whether one is superstitious or not, the thirteenth of fifteen offspring should make some sort of a mark in the world. Years later, shortly before his sainted mother passed to her reward, she told him that when he was born she had placed him in the cradle with a prayer that the Lord would send him as a missionary.

It may be a little too close to Zwemer's time to get the perspective and long-range significance of his life and work. There cannot be the least doubt that he should be ranked as the greatest missionary of our century to the Moslem world. The statement of Kenneth

Scott Latourette in his introduction to Zwemer's biography, *Apostle to Islam*, ranks him as the greatest apostle to the whole world of Islam since Raymund Lull, and seven hundred years is quite a while.

Samuel Zwemer may be also the greatest evangelistic missionary of this century. We think at once of others who may be better known, such as Albert Schweitzer and Frank Laubach. The former was a genius in several fields; however, he was not strictly an evangelist, since he agreed with the Paris Missionary Society, which sponsored him, to confine himself to Medicine and not to propagate his religious or philosophic views. Laubach is, beyond doubt, the greatest teacher in the world and is, indeed, an evangelistic missionary, but he is best known—and rightly so—for his work in literacy. In that field his accomplishments are almost beyond belief. But whatever the significance of Zwemer may be among missionaries of all fields, certainly to Islam he was preeminent.

Perhaps the wide influence he exerted upon individuals could be set forth best by a few noted examples. John A. Mackay said at Zwemer's funeral that the two men who had the greatest effect upon him as a young man in Scotland were Samuel Zwemer and Robert E. Speer.

Raymond I. Lindquist, minister of the Hollywood Presbyterian Church, the largest congregation in our denomination, told me that Zwemer had a greater effect on his life than any other

while he was in seminary; he won a fellowship in Zwemer's department, but did not get to Europe to complete the study because of an urgent call to a responsible pulpit here.

Several years ago, I was asked to introduce D. T. Niles, one of the leading Christians of Asia, when he lectured in the Princeton University Chapel. I mentioned that Samuel Zwemer said the best introduction he ever had was by a Church of England Bishop at the Keswick Conference. After the previous speaker had taken more than his allotted time, the Bishop said: "I am to introduce Sam Zwemer, Missionary to Muslims. In the words of our Lord at the grave of Lazarus, I will merely say, 'Loose him and let him go.'" Much to my surprise, D. T. Niles arose and said: "It was Samuel Zwemer who was responsible for my entering the Christian ministry."

Though we might mention many others, let me say only that President James I. McCord, when he was a young student, was greatly influenced when he met Samuel Zwemer. And I can testify to Zwemer's effect upon him—one of the most effective illustrations I have heard Dr. McCord use was from *The Glory of the Cross*, which was the one of his own books that Zwemer himself liked best.

At the earlier meeting of this Centennial Convocation Dr. McCord stated better than I could say it, concerning Zwemer and Speer: "It is our earnest hope that this convocation will renew us in our common devotion to the one mission of the Church among all peoples, and that in our re-study of the ministries of these two giants of a previous era, the horizons of our own ministries will be enlarged." Yes, there

were giants in the earth in those days, and the point for us is that the same Holy Spirit who motivated and empowered them is available for our own ministry.

Now, in order to appreciate the significance of Samuel Zwemer, let us consider first, what he did; second, what he said; and finally, what he was.

I

What He Did

As Luke says in the beginning of Acts, his Gospel recounted what Jesus *began* both to do and to say. So, with Zwemer the things he did and what he said were only a beginning, and his spirit calls for us to carry on and pray and work and dedicate life to the most difficult tasks of the ongoing mission enterprise.

The roots of the things Zwemer did may be traced to his background and early years. Samuel said, besides heredity and environment, there was a third influence even more important: the power of God in shaping life and character. As he and his brother trudged the four miles to Hope Academy and back, he was building the strong body that he had to have to accomplish all he did.

In academy he began to show his taste for literature and wrote some poetry, as well as prose, for the school paper. He worked hard during vacations and just after graduation from college was arrested for selling Bibles without a license. However, a telegram to the American Bible Society rescued him from "durance vile."

He became a Student Volunteer before he left college and was active in the organization of students for missions in New Brunswick Seminary and

other schools while he was there. One definite thing he did during his theological course was to set aside the noon time hour at the very center of daily activities, for prayer, Bible reading, and devotion. Many years later, an elderly lady missionary told me in Baghdad, "I lived with the Zwemers for some time, and I know where Sam gets his power; he drinks from the hidden springs."

During seminary, Zwemer and others formed an association of students not just to support missions, but to go as missionaries themselves. With the counsel of Professor John G. Lansing, who had been in the Near East, they decided on Arabia, the homeland of the most difficult of all religions to reach, where the climate was almost impossible and where the spiritual climate of fanaticism and opposition was even more intense.

Samuel Zwemer and James Cantine went out to start the Arabian Mission. The Board of the Reformed Church would not take on the work, because they considered it to be "impractical." However, the founders of the Arabian Mission were accused by some of being "cuckoos," who laid their eggs in other birds' nests; and, finally, more or less in self-defense, the Arabian work was taken over by the Reformed Church.

After investigating a number of places, the Mission was finally opened at Basrah in lower Iraq. After many delays, they were at last able to build a house for themselves. Imagine their surprise when they later found that to obtain permission, the contractor, a nominal Christian, had given the proper official a case of whiskey.

Another event which had much to do with the significance of Samuel

Zwemer came when he was asked to meet two young ladies arriving from Australia to work with the British Church Missionary Society in Baghdad. One of these young women "with rosy cheeks" as Samuel Zwemer remembered was asked to pour tea on the packing-box table covered with a shawl with long fringe. As she got up, her foot caught in the fringe and down came the few cups the young bachelors could muster. She ran out on the balcony, overcome by the disaster, and Zwemer was right after her to suggest that she stay on and break the rest of their china.

The C.M.S. had strict rules about their single lady missionaries not receiving gentlemen callers, but Zwemer got an appointment teaching them Arabic. Yes, the result was that Samuel Zwemer and Amy Wilkes were married in the British Consulate at Baghdad, May 18, 1896.

Amy Wilkes Zwemer was a great gift of Providence to the young missionary. She was a truly marvelous person, always ready to share his spiritual and intellectual life and to keep calm in the face of Zwemer's constant nervous activity and bless the home with love and patience and good humor. They came from the ends of the earth; theirs was a romance that could hardly be matched in fiction. They shared in many years of service under the primitive conditions on the Persian Gulf, in Cairo, in journeys over most of the world, in America, and at Princeton Seminary. Amy Wilkes Zwemer was always a devoted and inspiring wife and mother.

The establishment of the Mission in Arabia cost dearly in life. In the first few years seven members sacrificed their lives. The five adults included Peter J.

Zwemer, Samuel's brother, and two children who were daughters of the Zwemer family. Katharina, aged seven, and Ruth, aged four, died within eight days of each other in 1904. The stricken parents carved on the gravestone: "Worthy is the Lamb to receive riches."

Years later Lowell Thomas wrote: "Today along the whole Persian Gulf Coast the sheiks of Araby still talk of those two pioneer missionaries who had the courage to tell the story of Christianity to the fanatical Moslems. In the white coral skyscrapers of the seaport of Makallah and among the pearl fishers of Bahrein, Zwemer and Cantine accomplished missionary miracles."

It was when they returned to the United States of America on furlough from Arabia that Zwemer's talent blossomed into near genius in the raising of a missionary force and the necessary funds. Only the Lord himself knows who influenced more young people to go out to the foreign field. Many have thought that Robert E. Speer was the one who gave impetus to the consecration of the most young lives. However, John R. Mott, and he was closest to the center of the enterprise, says that no man in history from Christ to the present influenced so many who actually went out to the field, as did Samuel Zwemer.

He became the first Candidate Secretary of the Student Volunteer Movement. At the heart of this enterprise were the "Four Horsemen": Wilder, Mott, Speer, and Zwemer. They were so filled with the Holy Spirit that they dared to adopt as their slogan: "The Evangelization of the World in this Generation." The absolute wonder is that they all but succeeded! Fourteen thousand young people went out un-

der the Movement, and these men lived to see the Gospel preached in almost every nation of the world.

Zwemer's talent for raising funds was commensurate with his ability in influencing young people to consecrate their lives. We can only quote one or two examples to show Zwemer's method in finance. He persuaded John Timothy Stone to give him five minutes after the sermon in the Fourth Church of Chicago. After that, he went with the pastor to call on Mrs. Nettie McCormick. He spoke to her about the needs of the Nile Mission Press in Cairo. She said her pastor had told her of the situation and she handed Zwemer a check. He could hardly wait to excuse himself and get outside to look at the check. It was for \$10,000, a great sum in those days, which enabled them to construct the building for the Nile Mission Press.

Another incident was with a different type of giver. After church, Zwemer was having lunch with a frugal Dutch farmer and his wife. He made a direct appeal for the Arabian Mission. The husband said he felt he was giving all he could; the wife, however, urged him to give something more to their guest. Zwemer asked, "Who is the head of this house after all?" The husband and wife each said the other was. Then Zwemer pointed to a "sampler" on the wall that read: "Christ is the Head of this house." He asked, "Now, is that true?" The gift was in three figures.

Another example of his appeal, I have been told, lies in the fact that two elect ladies, neither of them from his own church, paid Zwemer's salary to the end of his missionary career in the field. He stated that he had always lived from

hand to mouth, but it was the Lord's hand and his mouth.

He was busy almost day and night speaking at colleges, universities, and conferences, and meeting assignments in three separate responsibilities. When Zwemer could not decide which appeals to service to accept, he would compromise by taking on all of them and not neglecting any.

From the beginning of his service in Arabia, Zwemer had had in view the whole of the world of Islam. In 1912 an urgent call came to him to locate in Cairo, which was central in the Islamic world in more ways than one. After much thought and prayer, he decided to move then to the Land of the Pyramids and Zwemer became an itinerant missionary, not in a local, but in a worldwide field. Zwemer termed the move to Cairo the second milestone of his career—the first had been when he went to Arabia.

From his student days Zwemer had been active in the organization of missionary conferences. He was the spirit behind the two great conferences on work for Moslems held in Cairo in 1906 and in Lucknow in 1911. By his journeys to all parts of the Islamic world, Zwemer even in those days before air travel came to be known as "The Flying Dutchman." He covered Africa and Europe and much of Asia. Two journeys are of particular note, for in South Africa and Indonesia he could lecture in both Dutch and English, as well as addressing Moslem audiences in Arabic. Everywhere he went he brought to the world new concepts of the number of followers of Islam in the area, as well as awakening interest in efforts to reach them with the Gospel. He made four visits to China, for instance, and

went far inland where Moslems were located, even up to the borders of Tibet.

On these trips the Apostle to Islam was the great teacher. He gave series of lectures to missionaries and Christian workers to inform them concerning Islam and inspire them to evangelism for the followers of the Arabian prophet. He also inspired great interest in the production and distribution of Christian literature for Moslems. Mrs. Zwemer was always right beside him with special meetings for women and information on how to reach the women of Islam. Everywhere the Zwemers did much to inspire mission comity and bring all types of mission effort into a unified approach to the great problem they all faced.

In addition to this wide travel, at the same time they were teaching theological students in Cairo and carrying on evangelistic work there; and in the meantime, Zwemer was doing more than any other to arouse the sending churches to their duty to Islam.

Perhaps the best example of this was his visit of twenty-three days to England in April and May of 1925. In that time of just over three weeks he gave thirty-six major addresses before nearly all of the leading missionary organizations of Britain at their annual meetings, besides many appearances in churches and luncheon or dinner gatherings.

These great annual meetings of such organizations as the London Missionary Society, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Church Missionary Society, the Baptist Missionary Society, the Wesleyan Methodist Society, and the Bible Society, and many smaller missions, undoubtedly gave the greatest impetus for the work for Moslems that these neglected fields had ever

received. Though it is a distinctly British expression, we can all well appreciate what his colleague in Cairo, Canon Gairdner, meant when he called Zwemer "a steam engine in breeches."

These were years of intense and continued activity until the move to Princeton Seminary in 1929. He called that his "third milestone," quoting the words from Longfellow: "Each man's chimney is his golden milestone." Even after ten years at Princeton, what he did continued to be of great importance.

II

What He Said

At the Rochester Convention, Robert E. Speer said: "I never got out of my mind the speech of Zwemer at one of the earlier conventions of this Movement, when he hung a great map of Islam before us, and with a sweep of his hand across all of those darkened areas, he said: "Thou, O Christ, art all I want, and Thou, Christ, art all they want. What Christ can do for any man, he can do for every man."

Zwemer and Speer were the great platform orators who swayed and moulded the students of their generation and inspired them to undertake the greatest movement of foreign missions the world has ever known. Their power so to communicate was, no doubt, due to their clear faith, their devotion to Christ and like Peter at Pentecost, they were filled with the Holy Spirit.

In individual interviews Zwemer was equally powerful. At Johns Hopkins University he was running across the campus from one speech to another with a young medical student named Paul Harrison, who said if Zwemer could convince him that Arabia was

the world's most difficult field, he would go there as a medical missionary. We know that he was convinced and did go and became, no doubt, the best known doctor ever to serve in that area.

The titles of Zwemer's sermons and addresses reflected his unusual sense of appeal, such as: "The Glory of the Impossible," "The Greatest Character Who Ever Lived," "The Blind-folded Christ," or a sermon on Abraham with the title "Weak Kneed Christianity." At the Rochester Student Volunteer Convention in 1910 he used a phrase which has become well known: "Of His Kingdom There are no Frontiers."

His illustrations were many and striking. For instance, regarding the pen of Matthew, Zwemer said, Matthew had a good pen for adding up the taxes for the Roman government, but that pen was touched by Christ, and Matthew did not lay it down until he wrote: "All power is given unto me in heaven and on earth, go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; teaching them to observe whatsoever I have commanded you; and lo, I am with you always even unto the end of the world."

He used to say that as Christians we must take the long perspective. If you had seen the emperor on his throne ruling the world with a single word, you might not even have noticed the missionary in the dungeon there in Rome with a chain on his wrist. You might have thought the emperor was the one who was making history, but just let some centuries pass, and men will name their dogs "Nero" after the emperor, but they will call their sons "Paul" for the Missionary.

Zwemer was never satisfied with merely making his voice heard from pulpit and platform far and wide. He said Martin Luther had the right idea when he threw his ink-pot at the devil, and he resolved to throw the ink-pot of the printed page at the demons of ignorance, superstition, and misunderstanding throughout the world of Islam. He often quoted the words of a telegram sent to him by Dr. Charles R. Watson of Cairo when he was leading a conference on literature: "No agency can penetrate Islam so deeply, abide so persistently, witness so daringly, and influence so irresistibly, as the printed page."

How Zwemer could be so inspirational on this subject is shown by the fact that after his visit to Iran and a conference on literature, the circulation of Christian books and tracts was more than doubled the following year. Zwemer founded the American Christian Literature Society for Moslems, which invested hundreds of thousands of dollars in Christian literature throughout the world of Islam and was finally taken over by the Committee on World Literacy and Christian Literature. He was also responsible for founding the Fellowship of Faith for Moslems, which continues after more than half a century with Dr. William Miller, formerly of Iran, as its present chairman.

Dear to the heart of Samuel Zwemer was the *Moslem World*, which he founded following the Edinburgh Missionary Conference of 1910. He edited this quarterly from all parts of the world. It continues now as *The Muslim World* and is published by the Hartford Seminary Foundation. The editor wrote many articles for his own quar-

terly, as well as a constant stream for other missionary magazines. He wrote something like two hundred book reviews for the *Moslem World*, and many for other publications.

He published about fifty books in English. These were of three classifications: (1) those particularly on Islam and the Moslem world; (2) general works on missions and Scripture; and (3) biographical and devotional books.

His first major book was *Arabia, The Cradle of Islam*. This authoritative work of more than 400 pages was written with a dip pen at Bahrein, where temperatures were so hot he had to wrap a towel around his hand to keep the perspiration from blotting the manuscript.

A trilogy of books with the titles *The Glory of the Manger*, *The Glory of the Cross*, and *The Glory of the Empty Tomb* were near to the heart of the writer. The first published was *The Glory of the Cross*, which remained the favorite product of his pen to the writer, and incidentally had the largest circulation of any of his books. *The Glory of the Manger* won a prize of \$1,000, and *The Glory of the Empty Tomb* was published after his official retirement when he was about eighty years of age.

Many of his books and tracts were published in Arabic, as well as in most of the European languages and in translations into many Asian tongues, including Chinese. So, Samuel Zwemer left behind him a great highway of print and pages that are spread abroad over the world for the healing of the nations.

III

What He Was

The special significance of Samuel Zwemer among Christian leaders was

that he had a magnificent obsession for preaching Christ to the world of Islam. While he could say, "This one thing I do," his interests and talents were broad enough to include all phases of Christian effort.

There were many scholars who delved more deeply than he into the intellectual aspects of Islam, but at a tea party in the home of Professor Julius Richter in Berlin, Zwemer was introduced by another leading orientalist as: "The world's leading authority on popular Islam." That pleased Zwemer, as he wanted all his study to be fruitful in the area of Christian Missions to Moslems.

The Apostle to Islam was a staunch conservative in theology. Especially did he feel that any missionary to Moslems must be strong in his doctrine of Christ and inspiration. Otherwise, his message would have no authority, as Islam believed in one God and had a holy book of its own. Concerning the higher critics of the Bible, Zwemer said they were like the white ants of Africa that would bite the life germ out of a seed before they took it into their underground nest in order that it should not sprout.

Zwemer could take the first sura of the Koran, with its two names for God, "Allah" and "Rabb," and show that part of the sura was from the priestly source, other parts from the "Elohim," or Allah source, and all had been redacted by the Deuteronomist. All of which was the deepest irony, as all knew that the sura had come directly from Mohammed.

Just as Moslems welcomed him because they knew he would speak straight out for his convictions, as they did for theirs, so other communions

welcomed Zwemer as a speaker or leader. He was often asked by Southern Baptists, Missouri Lutherans, Mission Covenant, and Christian and Missionary Alliance Churches to speak at their conferences or gatherings.

Both by conviction and heredity, Zwemer was a strong Protestant. He would, no doubt, have welcomed recent moves of the Roman Catholic Church and would feel that the great monolith was tipping toward Protestant faith. He often stated that if all the Popes had been married, like Peter, whom they claimed to be the first Pope, they would never have dared to claim they were infallible.

Under situations that were sometimes as tense as those met by the Apostle Paul, Zwemer continued to pour oil on the troubled waters and to lubricate the machinery with his overpowering sense of humor. In a feature of the leading Presbyterian magazine of that day, a columnist wrote: "No professional entertainer has ever made me laugh as did Samuel Marinus Zwemer. The fighter whose sword is sharpened on the grindstone of humor is a foe to fear."

No form of clean humor was despised by this campaigner. He enjoyed a pun and thought those who classed a pun as a very cheap form of humor were probably not sharp enough to make a good one. He had rather high authority in this, as the Apostle Paul and the Master himself were not averse to a pun, as we know. No matter how "corny" it might be, Zwemer enjoyed the laugh producing jest. For instance, he asked his classes in Princeton Seminary if they knew why Abraham was like opium; the answer being the opium was the juice of the poppy and Abra-

ham "the poppy of the Jews." He also told his classes that every time they licked a postage stamp, they kissed Arabia, as the stamp had gum-Arabic for paste. He possessed what seemed to be an endless supply of humorous stories, but he never indulged in any humor that was shady or tinged by the vulgar or irreverent.

The Apostle to Islam had a deep conviction that emotion was a true part of Christian faith. He wanted Christian faith and giving, as he said, to be not "per capita," but "ex corde." He had himself a very soft heart, and when he went to the communion table, always sang to himself: "O sacred head now wounded," and tears often filled his eyes. The humor in his character was balanced and made sharp by the touch of pathos.

Prayer was a natural part of the life of the Apostle to Islam. Over the long distance telephone, time and time again he would say, "Now, let's have a word of prayer about that." I doubt that the Bell Telephone Company has made so much from many others on tolls for time spent in prayer over the telephone.

It was said that he made very little on the royalties from his many books. The reason was that he gave away so many copies. Indeed it has been said that all the books and tracts that Zwemer distributed would make a belt around the world.

Often today we hear the expression "Where the action is." That described where Zwemer was to be found. He was called from around the world to great conventions by John R. Mott. In fact, he was so much of an active personality that wherever he went, the action went with him. His children

said, "On the Judgment Day father will sit there with his harp and twirling his halo, he will be saying, 'Gabriel, why don't you blow? Why don't you blow?'"

One incident always stands in my memory as typical of Sam Zwemer. He was taken to the hospital here in Princeton and operated on for a ruptured appendix. We were just about to leave for Iran, so I prevailed finally upon the doctors and nurses to let me see him before we left. He had had a blood transfusion that morning. When I entered his room, I found him sitting up in bed writing a book review! He greeted me, "Christy, did you hear that I had a blood transfusion this morning, and the blood came from a Jew who works for Walker-Gordon? I just knew that if I lived right, the blood of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob would some day flow in my veins."

He asked if I had seen his latest book, *Rethinking Missions with Christ*. I had not, so he said, "Get a copy out of that drawer." He inscribed it: "As a memento to the Wilsons as they leave for Persia." When he returned to his classes, he told them this was the first book he had published without "an appendix."

Zwemer possessed a natural enthusiasm which became a burning zeal when touched by the Holy Spirit. He had a brilliant, scintillating intellect, great powers of communication, and ability as a speaker to touch both reason and emotion. He had, in short, a charismatic personality, absolutely consecrated to Christ and his Kingdom in the world of Islam.

Samuel Zwemer would not want anything we say today to exalt him, but rather to lift up his Lord and Saviour,

Jesus Christ, that he might draw all men unto himself. The Apostle to Islam would challenge us with the thought that if men were willing to sacrifice their lives and all they had in the Crusades to win an empty sepulchre, how much more should we be willing to sacrifice to proclaim a living Saviour. There may be someone in the Princeton Seminary Class of 1967, the centenary anniversary class of Zwemer's birth, who would take the mantle of Elijah

upon him in dedication to win the world of Islam for Christ.

A generation ago God raised up men like Robert Wilder, John R. Mott, Robert Speer, and Samuel Zwemer: men of talent, men of power, young men full of the Holy Spirit. Let our prayer be: "O God, do it again! O God, do it again!"—that the Gospel may be proclaimed and the Church of Christ built up in the world of Islam in this generation.

THE TEACHING OF PRACTICAL THEOLOGY IN THE UNITED STATES DURING THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

SEWARD HILTNER

By the beginning of the present century, the "theological seminary" had become the principal means for the education of Protestant ministers. Ordinarily, each seminary was created by a particular church or denomination and was under that church's control. A few seminaries were parts of universities, or closely related to universities; and a few were non-denominational or inter-denominational. All of them, however, felt an obligation to provide some practical education for ministry, as well as to teach about the Bible, the history of the Church, Christian doctrine, and ethics.

The Practical Theology taught to the seminary student of 1900 was, however, not very practical. He heard lectures about preaching, or pastoral work, or Christian education, or evangelism; but he did not engage in manageable units of practice, and then have his practice criticized by teachers. Even the lectures focused on abstract principles. If concrete material was introduced, it was in the form of anecdotes. Thus, the seminary graduate of 1900 entered upon his ministry in possession of some abstract principles about practical theology, but without experience in relating principles to actual practice. At that same period, more than half of U.S. Protestant ministers were entering upon their work without any formal higher education in theology or arts; and such

Practical Theology as they learned was by untutored experience.

In 1900 the literature of Practical Theology was of two general types. First, there were standard textbooks of principles, often carrying the title, "Homiletics and Pastoral Theology," with the latter phrase connoting, as it also did in much of the Continental literature beginning about 1850, the examination of all the other duties of the minister beyond preaching. These books of principles were seldom read except as texts by seminary students. Second, there was a considerable literature of anecdotes, inspiration, and "hints and helps." Except for reading books of published sermons, it seems probable that most ministers in 1900 confined their reading about Practical Theology to these inspirational works.

I. *Learning through Supervised Experience*

What has eventually become perhaps the most unique and original aspect of U.S. theological education, learning through supervised experience, did not appear in any fully-formed fashion. It came in bits and pieces. Only after several types of such supervised experience had developed was there recognition of the commonalty.

One of the early forms of "supervised experience" was "practice preaching."

Instead of being asked merely to outline or to write a sermon, a student was asked to deliver a sermon to his teacher and his fellow students; and then submit himself to their critical analysis of his effort. In subsequent years this procedure has been greatly refined and enriched. Recordings, motion pictures, and video tapes are used so that the student can, later, hear and see himself. Students at work part-time in local churches may also record their efforts, and bring them back to the seminary for criticism. Class groups are often made small, not more than eight or ten students, in order to facilitate the learning that comes out of criticism by one's peers as well as by his teachers.

Something similar came early in the Christian education of children and young people. Instead of simulating the situation in the class-room, as was first done about preaching, the student perhaps taught a particular class of children on Sunday, wrote up what occurred, and brought his record back to the seminary for inspection and criticism. This general method too has been refined in subsequent years, and the procedure is aided by recording devices.

No one knows who first thought of the work done by seminary students in local churches as potentially "field education." Until very recently in most seminaries, and even today in some, the principal means of student financial self-support was "week-end churches," i.e., the student serving as minister of a small local church, trying to concentrate his ministerial duties over the weekends and remaining at the seminary during the week. As a means of

learning, such week-end church experiences were often negative. A student might become more deeply rutted in ministerial bad habits, with no one to look over his shoulder and help him to mend his ways.

Eventually (perhaps about 1920) several seminaries saw that, if they could offer some supervision to students in their actual work in local churches, educational capital could be made of the field experience. So students wrote reports on what they were doing, and brought them in for criticism. Faculty members went out to the students' churches and watched them in action. Seminaries tried increasingly to have their students work in churches large enough to have a full-time minister, who could help supervise the student's work and learning. Although much remains to be done, the past twenty-five years have seen great strides in field education. Increasingly, seminaries try to make it possible for their students to devote the entirety of their first year's graduate course to the academic program. But in the subsequent years, field education, limited in hours so as not to impede the concurrent academic study, is the norm in Protestant theological education. The greatest need today is for improvement of both the quantity and quality of the supervision.¹

Several other forms of learning through supervised experience also occupy an important place in the teaching of Practical Theology. By far the most competent, in terms of supervision, is Clinical Pastoral Education.² The site of such supervised experience is usually a hospital, general or mental, or a penal

¹ Charles Fielding, *Education for Ministry*. American Association of Theological Schools, Dayton, Ohio, 1966.

² See Fielding, *supra*, and Heije Faber, *Pastoral Care and Clinical Training in America*. Van Loghum Slaterus, Arnhem, 1961.

institution, or a similar place in which inter-professional teams work toward the healing or rehabilitation of persons in special need. A Chaplain-Supervisor, i.e., a full-time Chaplain who has had special training to supervise the work and study of other ministers and theological students, is in charge. Ordinarily, no Chaplain-Supervisor is permitted to supervise more than six or eight persons at one time; thus, the education can be individualized according to the need of each student. Such education is often, these days, a part of the seminary curriculum, on a part-time basis. But students may enroll for it on a full-time basis, either during the summer months, or between seminary years, or at the close of the academic course. Although this form of education is indispensable for ministers who plan to work in such settings as hospitals, it has been demonstrated as equally useful for those intending the ministry of the local church.

Still another form of learning through supervised experience is the so-called "intern year," which is actually an "extern year." Ordinarily it involves the student's interrupting his academic work, usually after two years, in order to spend a year in an actual ministry situation under local supervision, away from the seminary, before returning to complete his academic studies. Especially Lutheran seminaries have relied on the intern year program. Where the local supervisor is excellent in supervision, such programs prove very valuable; the problem is to find such supervisors when, so far, there are only the most rudimentary procedures for training them in supervision.³

Many "summer experience" programs for theological students were originally

designed on no more complex principles than (1) helping them to earn needed money through some form of church service; (2) getting them into contact with ordinary people; (3) providing partial ministries where otherwise there would be no ministry at all. There are still, for instance, small churches in isolated areas, in both the U.S. and Canada, that have "ministers," i.e., theological students, only during the summer months. There is a summer program of ministry to travellers in the great network of national parks. There is the much more carefully supervised program of Ministers in Industry, where theological students and clergy have actual contact with modern industries, labor unions, and the like. Growing rapidly in the last years are Urban Training Programs, supervised ministries in desperately needy areas of large cities.

If more persons can be helped toward competence in educational supervision in the years ahead, it seems clear that educational capital can be made of student participation in many kinds of experience. But it is our American experience that competence in supervision is what makes the difference, and that there is no substitute for it, whatever it may require in terms of funds and personnel.

Finally, in terms of learning through supervised experience, we mention the rapidly increasing volume of so-called "continuing education," and also of "advanced professional education." As used in the U.S., "continuing education" is post-graduate study without reference to higher degrees. For most ministers, such periods of non-credit, post-graduate study are short, rely

³ Fielding, *op.cit.*

heavily on reading and concentrated seminar discussions, and do not have either time or facilities for supervised experience. But there are exceptions. A competent clinical pastoral supervisor, for instance, may offer a one-day a week course, including supervised experience, to ministers in his area who did not get this during their seminary course.

"Advanced professional education," i.e., post-graduate education toward a degree not understood as research specialization, is much on the increase. The advanced degree sought is usually the Master of Theology or Master of Sacred Theology; but there are some current experiments in "professional doctor's degrees," i.e., work distinguished from the Ph.D. or Th.D. degrees. Not a little of the emphasis with these professional advanced degrees is on learning through supervised professional experience, and linking such learning with classical theological learning.⁴

For the overseas reader, a postscript may be useful about the general nature of supervisor-student relationships in these many forms of learning through supervised experience.⁵ No matter how gently he goes about it, the supervisor must offer, on paper, in private discussion, and in small groups, thorough critiques (both pro and con) of the student at work as a minister, i.e., not simply partial critiques of ideas, or procedures, or externals. Such material comes close to the personal center, is never easily accepted without "defense" and even pain. And indeed, since even the ablest and most objective supervisor may be wrong, the procedure is dan-

gerous unless the student can "come back" at the supervisor, and himself participate in the needed correction of the critiques. The maintenance of this kind of relationship is never easy. If the usual conceptions of social distance between teacher and student are assumed, it is impossible. But the student who strongly appraised his supervisor's interest in him as individual to be either parity or favoritism, would be misunderstanding the supervisor's authority of competence although with humility. Without this delicate relationship in supervision, our U.S. experience of learning Practical Theology through supervised experience would clearly be impossible. But, as the very small amount of literature on this very important subject shows (except for descriptions of specific programs), a great deal remains to be done in honest reporting on and criticism of precisely these points where our U.S. experience is most at the frontier.

II. *Practical Theology and "The Ministry"*

If the aim of all professional theological education, and especially that in Practical Theology, is, as the title of Charles Fielding's important book suggests, *Education for Ministry*, then we should logically expect that much of the U.S. discussion and writing about "the ministry" would deal with what the Practical Theology is that is to be taught to forthcoming ministers. In actual fact, most of the writing and discussion about ministry or "the ministry" has little or nothing to say of a comprehensive nature along that line.

Row, New York, N.Y., 1957.

⁵ Fielding, *op.cit.*

⁴ H. Richard Niebuhr, Daniel Day Williams, and James M. Gustafson, *The Advancement of Theological Education*. Harper &

Most U.S. writing about the ministry of recent years may be classified under three headings, all of them important in themselves, but none providing much help to our present inquiry. First, there are the "laos theou" concerns. The ministry is a ministry of the church, of all Christians. All Christians are the people of God, and privileged to minister. Christian physicians and lawyers and plumbers and space scientists are ministers to the needs of the world, no less than ordained ministers of the Word and Sacraments. All this is true and biblical and contemporaneously relevant and important. But such discussions ordinarily are not followed by precise attempts to answer: So then what are the specific and unique functions of the ordained minister, how is he to learn them, and what kind of Practical Theology both helps him best with his tasks and enables him to help other Christians with theirs?

The second kind of writing and discussion in the U.S. is what may be called "sources and meaning" considerations of ministry. Jesus Christ and his Church are the true ministers. The form of ministry is servanthood. Apart from servanthood, we are no ministers at all. Ministry is to human need and sin. It is to the world, is to afflict the comfortable as well as to comfort the afflicted. Such discussions too are true and important. They may take place at various levels of penetration and sophistication. But even in sophisticated versions, they tend to close with exhortation or action or both, and not to go on to ask: So, if these are the sources and meaning of all ministry,

what then is the Practical Theology we must inquire into if we who are ministers of Word and Sacraments are to do our part in faithful obedience to our sources and true attentiveness to the meaning of that ministry to which we are called?

The third kind of discussion of ministry is "program reports," mostly allegedly successful programs. In reading the most saccharine of such reports, the non-American might well conclude that three tablespoons of charisma, well mixed with a lucrative thumb all shaken together with an oil of accommodation, and poured on some ambiguous architecture—is the proper recipe for "the ministry." Even the popular religious journals that should know better are replete with this kind of account of churches with "committed ministry." Usually a little poverty and suffering are thrown in, to conceal the "success formula" that is the real paradigm for such accounts. Even some unusually imaginative, competent, and productive American men of the cloth have been so distorted by U.S. religious journalism that overseas readers could not perceive their genuineness beneath the patter imitating our most successful U.S. bourgeois export, the *Reader's Digest*.

But we have a great many program reports of a quite different kind. George W. Webber speaks as an authentic prophet from his ministry in the slums of Harlem, New York City.⁶ Robert Raines shows the possibility of koinonia even in the suburbs.⁷ There are creative ministries on university campuses, to mentally deficient children, to victims

⁶ George W. Webber, *The Congregation in Mission*. Abingdon Press, New York, N.Y., 1964.

⁷ Robert Raines, *New Life in the Church*. Harper & Row, New York, N.Y., 1961.

of drug addiction, to various kinds of dispossessed persons; and at least some of them have been competently described.⁸

So long as they are genuine reports, and not cryptically bourgeois boastings, these program reports on ministry are very good indeed. But they become, understandably enough, so occupied with improving their own work and effecting their particular ends that it seems to them academic to come back and ask: So what is the Practical Theology, relating practice to theory, upon which the capacities of the ordained minister depend in his leadership of such programs?

In the past few years I can identify only four U.S. books that deal with the ministry in such fashion as to lead clearly and analytically toward the question: What is the Practical Theology, comprehensively considered, needed by the ordained minister; and how do we conceive, learn, and teach it?

The most important and influential of these works is *The Purpose of the Church and its Ministry*, by the late H. Richard Niebuhr.⁹ Significantly, this was actually the first volume of a study of Protestant theological education in the U.S. and Canada. The author combined analytical power with theological construction. In the middle ages, he noted, the central image of ministry was the priest kneeling before the altar. In the Reformation period the focal image became the preacher at the pulpit with the Bible open before him. Important still as are the functions of prayer (and

the sacraments) and preaching (and teaching), said Niebuhr, neither of these images can any longer serve as focus or central guiding image for what the minister of today is crucially called to do.

The minister of today, functionally speaking, is primarily, said Niebuhr, a "pastor director" (perhaps an unhappy phrase)—centrally, a kind of moderatorial, guiding, encouraging, educating organizer of the work and activity and service of many people. What ministry finally is is not what the ordained minister does alone and by himself, without consulting anything but God and the Bible, but what emerges through his efforts, with the Christians of whom he is "Word and Sacraments" leader, in their general effort at servanthood. William E. Hulme makes a similarly effective point when he declares that the vocation of the ordained minister is to educe the vocation of other Christians.¹⁰ Even though Niebuhr does not spell out a Practical Theology based on his analysis, in his short but trenchant work, he makes it clear that a Practical Theology relevant to the actual functions of the ordained minister today cannot occupy itself nostalgically with focal images which, however relevant they were in the past, no longer meet the challenges and obligations of the present situation. The ordained minister is still a leader, although clearly a democratic one (i.e., he engages in dialogue and does not "pull rank" to shut off criticism). But his leadership function is exercised through consulta-

⁸ Harold W. Stubblefield, *The Church's Ministry in Mental Retardation*. Broadman Press, Nashville, Tenn., 1964.

⁹ H. Richard Niebuhr, *The Purpose of the Church and its Ministry*. Harper & Row,

New York, N.Y., 1956.

¹⁰ William E. Hulme, *Counseling and Theology*. Fortress Press, Philadelphia, Pa., 1956.

tion, negotiation, and commitment to what the "group" is doing (which is never without ambiguity)—and is not conceived as simple prerogative, right to autonomy, or anything else derivative from a power perspective. Authority becomes responsibility rather than either autonomy or command. In our situation, only this kind of authority is consistent with servanthood.

The second significant U.S. book along these lines was conceived also by H. Richard Niebuhr, although the content was principally contributed by other writers.¹¹ As a discerning historical account, including such historians as Wilhelm Pauck, this volume attempts both a long-range, Christian-history, analysis; and also an appraisal leading up to the contemporary understanding of ministry in the U.S. The concluding chapters by Sidney E. Mead and Robert S. Michaelson are of particular significance in leading up to the question of: How conceive Practical Theology for today?

Although not up to H. Richard Niebuhr's standard of imagination and depth, Robert S. Paul's recent book, *Ministry*, is nevertheless a serious analytic attempt to reconsider the ordained ministry, one might say, against the doubts of its cultured doubters, who are also among its best practitioners.¹² Paul does not, unhappily, go on to analysis of the Practical Theology needed to implement his basic and constructive thesis.

The fourth volume in this class is one of my own, *Preface to Pastoral*

¹¹ H. Richard Niebuhr and Daniel Day Williams, eds., *The Ministry in Historical Perspectives*. Harper & Row, New York, N.Y., 1956.

¹² Robert S. Paul, *Ministry*. Eerdmans,

Theology.¹³ No more than other authors can I be objective about my own efforts. My principal effort, in this volume, was to try to establish or re-establish "pastoral theology" as a genuinely theological discipline—asking theological questions and, finally, getting theological answers, but in the interim drawing upon many kinds of sources to understand what is going on in the very human (but related to God) processes that are taking place.

In order to support this kind of thesis, however, I found it necessary to go back and make a new analysis of the functions of ministry—whether ministry be regarded as what is attempted by the face-to-face church community, or by the minister of the Word and Sacraments, or both. My analysis is critical (but not negative) about the "offices" of church and ministry, because those categories tend toward compartmentalization, while all creative work within any one of them leads toward breaking out of the compartments. My constructive methodological proposal is for a perspectival rather than a compartmental scheme, according to which any responsible or true act of ministry is dominantly within one perspective, but also recessively but not insignificantly, within two other perspectives. The three perspectives I declared to be exhaustive in this mode of analysis are: shepherding, communicating, and organizing—all of which, unhappily but necessarily, carry technical definitions along with them.

The central point of my book's argu-

Grand Rapids, Mich., 1965.

¹³ Seward Hiltner, *Preface to Pastoral Theology*. Abingdon Press, New York, N.Y., 1958.

ment is, I think (although I didn't put it in this way in the book), that there are "trans-behavioristic" ways of looking at the functions of ministry. A man is talking to a group who can't, at that moment, stand up and tell him he is wrong. A man kneels by a bedside, while a sufferer dying of cancer complains bitterly about God's dealing with his cancer. A man (or a woman) explains to a group of adolescents that faith is a gift not a possession, and one young person says this distinction is a lot of nonsense. Let me assume that the minister, in each of these instances, is sensitive, competent, and intelligent, as well as being Christian. My point is that shepherding (tender, solicitous accepting concern), communicating (the gospel is a treasure shared with *any* who will receive it), and organizing (ordering our church and all other communal relationships in accord with the Word and the true *koinonia*), are ALL involved in every one of these situations; but that an analytical Practical Theology tries to figure out, in terms of its servanthood obligations at every point, how much of this and how much of that. To WHAT should we be most attentive in this situation or that? We cannot answer this question by "compartments." Methodologically, my suggestion is that we approach it *via* "perspectives." This is a modern way of thinking. It is different from the traditional subject-object way of going about this kind of question. Space does not permit me to argue its virtues.

In summary of this section, "the ministry" may or may not provide, on analysis, what Practical Theology needs these days. Certainly no concept of Practical Theology can avoid the question of "the ministry." That is what we

are all about. But there is no direct line between useful categories of Practical Theology today and such other matters as: biblical concepts of ministry, the office of church and ministry, how the church ministered in past ages, or experiments in ministry today. If our intent is constructive, we must indeed take all these things into account. But all of them even collectively, do not solve our problem.

III. *Practical Theology via the Offices of Church and Ministry*

A. *Christian Education*

In the United States, the initial movement toward a "practical theology" that would be Christian, but attuned to the needs and requirements of the modern world, was made by the persons interested in Christian education. These people had children and teen-agers on their hands. No matter what you (an adult Christian) thought or felt about this issue or that, how do you interpret even the issue—not beginning with your answer—to children and adolescents?

Very early in this century, leading persons charged with the Christian education of children and adolescents despaired of help from prevailing hierarchies (which had never acknowledged the phenomena of actual human development), and turned to such sources as John Dewey's understanding of development as the moral engagement of the learner. Pragmatically, they won the day completely. Not even the most recalcitrant group, thereafter, has denied in practice the need to take into account the interests and mental level of the children to be instructed. But most groups said, in contrast to the facts, that they were "against Dewey." In the area

of Christian education, this situation was complicated not only by Dewey's eventually-revealed anti-metaphysical metaphysics,¹⁴ but also by an *avant-garde* group which insisted on using Dewey's name in defense of what they called "progressive education," which was, for a time, a virtual renouncement of structure in education and discipline in teaching (something Dewey had never intended).

From the point of view of the overseas visitor, what must be most striking about the church education of children and young people in the U.S.A. is not the theoretical position, whatever it may be, but instead the quantities of persons involved, the millions of dollars spent by church boards in preparing materials, the even more millions spent on class-room buildings for the instruction, and the constant ferment and reconsideration of what should be done with all these resources. For good or ill, there is nothing like these millions anywhere else in the world, even in other English-speaking countries. An American church, architecturally considered, and regardless of the taste exercised in the worship sanctuary, almost invariably includes a set of meeting rooms, a kitchen, some W. C.'s, and even provision for parking cars. But the central novelty is the meeting rooms. For these, we are indebted to the Christian education imagination.

Where are we today in the U.S., so far as Christian education is a dimension or office of Practical Theology? Per-

¹⁴ As set forth especially by John Dewey in *The Quest for Certainty*. Minton, Balch, New York, N.Y., 1929.

¹⁵ Kendig B. Cully, *The Search for a Christian Education Since 1940*. The Westminster Press, Philadelphia, Pa., 1965.

¹⁶ J. Gordon Chamberlin, *Freedom and*

haps the best appraisal of the situation is that by Kendig B. Cully.¹⁵ He reviews the work and development and thought over recent years, and also attempts to set the whole issue in proper historical perspective. The assessment by J. Gordon Chamberlin is perhaps less thorough but is more imaginative.¹⁶ How to convey the good news to persons of four, six, eight, sixteen, sixty-five, or in slums, suburbs, hospitals, prisons, etc.—involves an immense U.S. literature, the majority of which is in pamphlets, magazines, and paperbacks, and never catalogued by the Library of Congress. The basic problem remains, however, that the people who deal with people do not write; and the people who have a concern for theoretical principles have little contact with actual educational processes. Wyckoff is a partial exception, but his book emphasizes structure.¹⁷

In recent years, Christian education has begun to realize what a treasure it has, aided by many secular studies, in the developmental understanding of Christian life and growth. Development, as something transcending mere unfolding, like the oak from the acorn, is a modern idea—Involving both the pushes from behind and the lures (and decisions) from before. Preparing the full implications of this correct theory for practice, however, is sadly lagging.

A generation or so ago—when doctrinal theology was at its most detached worst, and the revival of biblical theology had not yet gained impetus—Chris-

Faith: New Approaches to Christian Education. The Westminster Press, Philadelphia, Pa., 1965.

¹⁷ D. Campbell Wyckoff, *The Gospel and Christian Education*. The Westminster Press, Philadelphia, Pa., 1959.

tian education was plagued with the task of appraising its effectiveness on strictly moral grounds, narrowly considered. Does Hans refuse to cheat on examinations, even if other students do so? The answer then, by empirical study was not reassuring. Christians cheated like anybody else.

In the interim period various emphases have prevailed temporarily. One was: capture their interest and go on from there. Another was: get the Bible into them, no matter what. Of late there has been a flurry about making them into "little churchmen," no matter what they do apart from the church. No doubt all these emphases are partial but have their positive virtues. But we are in an age when the "packaging" of products is, sometimes, as important as the nature of the product itself. At least in the U.S., the packaging of a cereal may cost more than the cereal itself. Where our many church boards, and all the church school teachers dependent on their resources, will go from here—I do not know. What I am sure of is that the way they go, and the issues involved, are not subjects that a Practical Theology can either ignore or be ignorant of.

B. Pastoral Care and Counseling

The new concern for this area of Practical Theology came about from improbable sources, first from Anton T. Boisen's own mental illness and then from his work as a mental hospital chaplain and founder of the movement for clinical pastoral education.¹⁸ Boisen believed that his contribution to Practical Theology was methodological in nature—the introduction of "living hu-

man documents"—i.e., serious analysis, from theological and psychological perspectives, to detailed life histories. His own chief concern was with persons—like George Fox, John Bunyan, and himself—who had had shattering experiences, today unquestionably to be classified as severe and eruptive mental illnesses—but who, at the same time, had responded to these disturbing events from a Christian perspective, and indeed, Boisen believed, so responding partly because of the disturbing situations. Genuine religious or Christian experience, and mental disorder, could be co-existent, and in the same processes, he felt. He made no generalizations. Other persons than those, troubled like himself or George Fox, might indeed be as Christian, or more so. He simply alleged that persons, troubled like Fox or himself, might, through and not despite their trouble, be showing both mental illness and Christian experience at the same time.

Boisen, and his thesis, found some followers, including me a generation ago. Then, so far as physicians and psychiatrists were concerned, we were an odd lot. Today, most U.S. psychiatrists accede to Boisen's thesis. An eruptive, disrupting psychic may proceed, as Boisen indicated, either to new levels of comprehension, or back to old defense patterns. The "religious" (however conceived) may be trying to break through; it may or may not succeed. But, in either event, there is both mental illness, and religious experience, at the same time.

The next step from Boisen was the work of Russell L. Dicks in ministering

¹⁸ Anton T. Boisen, *The Exploration of the Inner World*. Harper & Row, New York,

to general hospital patients.¹⁹ Even seen a generation later, *The Art of Ministering to the Sick*, by Richard C. Cabot and Russell L. Dicks, is a great book. Above all, their permanent contribution was methodological, i.e., that "pastoral conversation," the primary tool, could be recorded, appraised, and analyzed—to the benefit of the next encounter of pastor and parishioner. Such analysis is now carried out not only in the original clinical settings but also in terms of work with persons and families in local churches.

From supervised analysis of his own work with persons at particular times, the student learns several things: the potential strengths and weaknesses of the other; the degree to which his own intention and his performance are in harmony; and whether his attempt at ministry is consistent with the message and the Church he represents. Almost all seminary instruction in pastoral care and counseling makes use of the student's own case reports.²⁰

C. Preaching and Worship

As already noted, "practice preaching" accompanied by criticism on the part of teachers and peers has now become universal in seminaries, and has elaborated and refined its teaching methods. In order that proper attention be given to accurate exegesis, contemporary relevance, and communicative method, much teaching of preaching in-

¹⁹ Richard C. Cabot and Russell L. Dicks, *The Art of Ministering to the Sick*. The Macmillan Company, New York, N.Y., 1936.

²⁰ For example, see Seward Hiltner, *Pastoral Counseling*. Abingdon Press, New York, N.Y., 1949.

²¹ H. Grady Davis, *Design for Preaching*. Fortress Press, Philadelphia, Pa., 1958.

volves the collaboration of two or more teachers. For example, there may be a teacher of homiletics and a teacher of speech, or a teacher of Bible and a teacher of homiletics; or a teacher of Christian doctrine and a teacher of homiletics.

The most highly regarded recent book on preaching is *Design for Preaching* by H. Grady Davis.²¹ Against the tendency of many manuals on preaching to be rather mechanical about the points of a sermon, Davis argues for a unified central idea or theme in every instance of preaching, with the sermon, as a whole, taking its own shape as the preacher develops, illustrates, and endeavors to communicate the central message. Considerable use is also made in U.S. seminaries of two classic works on preaching, those by P. T. Forsyth and Phillips Brooks.²² Forsyth's emphasis was on a theology of preaching, and Brooks stressed the preacher as a person. A helpful recent volume, stressing content but attentive to the communicative processes, is by Paul Scherer.²³

In contrast to the considerable amounts of time given in U.S. seminaries to the teaching of preaching, only the more liturgical churches devote comparable attention to teaching about the conduct of worship, notably the Lutheran churches and the Protestant Episcopal Church. The comprehensive and standard Lutheran work is *Worship* by Luther Reed.²⁴ For

²² P. T. Forsyth, *Positive Preaching and the Modern Mind*. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, Mich., 1964, and Phillips Brooks, *Eight Lectures on Preaching*. S. P. C. K., London, 1959.

²³ Paul Scherer, *The Word God Sent*. Harper & Row, New York, N.Y., 1965.

²⁴ Luther Reed, *Worship*. Muhlenberg Press, Philadelphia, Pa., 1959.

Episcopalians, the standard work is by Massey H. Shepherd.²⁵ Both volumes are widely used by other Protestants also. The two most competent volumes now available in the Calvinistic tradition are those by Donald Macleod and Howard Hageman.²⁶

D. Social Service and Action

Beginning in the early years of the century, there appeared in the U.S., under the leadership of persons like Walter Rauschenbusch, the so-called "social gospel" movement, with the churches putting themselves on the side of social justice in terms of race relations, the income of workers, special protections for children, and the like.²⁷ This movement has been closely related to the development of local, state, and national councils of churches; for the churches, acting collectively, could influence social policy more effectively than by separate actions.

Before 1930, most social services in the U.S. were performed by non-governmental bodies, especially by the churches. Since then, the major burden has been assumed by various levels of government. Nevertheless, the amount of social service under church auspices is still large. Almost five hundred hospitals, for example, are related to Protestant churches. A large proportion of the "national missions" budget of every denomination goes for social services to disadvantaged people like American

Indians. Unhappily, there is no recent and comprehensive account either of the social services under church auspices or of the other services with which the churches cooperate. The education of theological students about such services tends, therefore, to be in bits and pieces.

Something similar is true of the student's education about social action. Each social issue, such as relations between the races, has enormous complexities; and the literature, understandably, tends to be about particular issues; or else to be about general principles of Christian social ethics. When students become involved in an extracurricular way in social action situations, most seminaries have not found a way of aiding them so to analyze those situations that educational capital could be made of the experience. It may be that the movement toward contextual thinking, and situational analysis, in Christian ethics will lead eventually in this direction.²⁸

E. Evangelism and Missions

If evangelism be regarded as that function of ministry which attempts to bring the gospel to those outside the church, then the present situation in the U.S. is paradoxical. On the one side, there are many forms of ministry, not a few of them genuine pioneering, which bring the gospel to many kinds of disadvantaged or alienated persons. But these activities are rarely regarded

Re-Examined. Harper & Row, New York, N.Y., 1940.

²⁵ See especially Joseph Fletcher, *Situation Ethics*. The Westminster Press, Philadelphia, Pa., 1966. Paul L. Lehmann, *Ethics in a Christian Context*. Harper & Row, New York, N.Y., 1963.

²⁶ Donald Macleod, *Presbyterian Worship*. John Knox Press, Richmond, Va., 1965. Howard Hageman, *Pulpit and Table*. John Knox Press, Richmond, Va., 1962.

²⁷ F. Ernest Johnson, *The Social Gospel*

as evangelism. On the other side, the prestige of Billy Graham shows that evangelism still tends to be associated with the kind of up-dated revivalism that Graham carries out. Every U.S. denomination has a board or department of evangelism, usually entirely separated from the experimental ministries.

Samuel Southard has made an effort to utilize the analyses of pastoral relationships, emerging from pastoral care, in redefining the task of the ordained minister to carry out his evangelistic function in interpersonal relationships.²⁹ But his volume seems to be little used with seminary students. Even though nearly every seminary has at least one course called "evangelism," the shadow of revivalism still looms over conservative and liberal alike. The conservative schools tend to emphasize special events, aggressive preaching, evangelistic calling by laymen in homes and offices, and the like. The more liberal schools have not succeeded in creating a unifying functional theory that would see the experimental ministries in the evangelistic perspective. Some use has been made of the World Council's statement on evangelism; but since it remains in the realm of principles, and does not analyze functions, it has not done much to improve teaching.

In U.S. seminaries, the teaching of "missions" tends to connote that which is taught to persons contemplating service as overseas missionaries. The linkage with evangelism in the now-forgotten "apostolics," has passed out of awareness. The foreign mission boards of U.S. churches, along with other churches

in the World Council, have of course been up-dating their efforts for a long time. But the U.S. seminary student gets little formal instruction about missions, except a picture of the program of his own denomination. Even if one of his sermons is on the theme, "the church is mission," he would be startled if, thereafter, some one called him a "missionary." What we seem to need is an up-dated "apostolics," relating theory and practice.

F. Administration and Group Work

Visitors to the U.S. from overseas are often astounded at the number of operating groups in local churches. There are groups for every age level, groups for men and groups for women, groups to raise money, groups to perform social services, and many others. The first theoretical statement about a church as carrying out its activity and service through groups appeared only in 1898.³⁰ Thus, this conspicuous dimension of U.S. church life is almost entirely a creature of the present century.

Whether he wants to or not, the U.S. minister today is a kind of general executive manager of all these groups. In any particular church he is likely to have some groups that are new and naive, some that are re-appraising their function and usefulness, some that are going through motions without reflection, and some that cling to existence even though their original function is out-dated. His aim and his strategy manifestly need to be different with each kind of group.

Since theological education in the

²⁹ Samuel Southard, *Pastoral Evangelism*. Broadman Press, Nashville, Tenn., 1962.

³⁰ Washington Gladden, *The Christian Pas-* tor and the Working Church. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, N.Y., 1898.

U.S. and elsewhere has concentrated on teaching about what the minister should do, most ministers feel most like ministers when engaged in solo performances: preaching the sermon, making the hospital call, or speaking up for righteousness. Guiding the group life of the church must, of necessity, be different. Its focal procedure is not ministerial performance, but ministerial negotiation with the group. This means a kind of vulnerability for the minister that is threatening to many. For a few, it means, in American slang, becoming "operators" or "manipulators," i.e., getting what one wants by flattering other people into doing it. But for the great majority, there is a sense of frustration and even incompetence in dealing with the groups.

So far, no master theoretician has appeared to analyze the principles of church administration theologically, and in relation to concrete situations. A new level of thought, however, is beginning, as shown in the book by Arthur M. Adams.³¹ Although attacking only a limited aspect of the general problem, the colleague relationships in churches that have more than one full-time ordained minister, a recent study by Kenneth R. Mitchell suggests the method by which more comprehensive and general studies in this vital area may be advanced.³² Most seminary students today get little more than an introduction to the existing structures, regulations, and organization of their respective denominations.

Another promising emergent in this field is the scientific study of small,

face-to-face groups. Borrowing heavily from secular studies of "group dynamics," most seminaries now provide their students with rudimentary instruction about small groups; but this process is so far hampered by the absence of an authoritative analysis from theological perspectives.

IV. Practical Theology in Roman Catholic Seminaries

Until recently, the structures, content, and procedures of most Roman Catholic seminary education in the U.S. was indistinguishable from such education elsewhere in the world. Today, however, a strong movement is emerging to take seriously the learning through "supervised experience" position, and to explore ways of doing this that are appropriate to the whole Catholic situation. The next few years will undoubtedly see many creative experiments of this kind, in part perhaps drawing upon Protestant experience, but pioneering as well as adapting.

Within the past few months, four of the best Roman Catholic seminaries in the U.S. applied for membership in the American Association of Theological Schools, hitherto a Protestant and Orthodox body. They were warmly and unanimously welcomed into the usual provisional membership; and, once they are officially inspected and accredited, will become full members. This forthcoming seminary cooperation at the national level is matched by an increasing amount of cooperation at local levels. In some instances, as at Dubuque, Iowa, there is interchange of

³¹ Arthur M. Adams, *Pastoral Administration*. The Westminster Press, Philadelphia, Pa., 1964.

³² Kenneth R. Mitchell, *Psychological and*

Theological Relationships in the Multiple Staff Ministry. The Westminster Press, Philadelphia, Pa., 1966.

classes between Protestant and Catholic seminaries. In other places, and especially in areas like clinical pastoral education, students study in the same places and under the same supervisors.

It is impossible to guess, at this stage, what will happen to the structures of theology, including the practical dimensions, under the impetus of the new Catholic reformation. Will "pastoral theology" become more than a handmaiden of "moral theology"? Will "homiletics" take on new form and shape, combining biblical competence and fearless use of secular insights, to a degree that Protestantism has not achieved? Will a "theology of group life" emerge that Protestantism so far does not possess? Will Catholic thought finally take seriously the need to analyze administrative processes theologically, as Protestantism has only begun to do? Will "ascetical theology" get down to lower levels and not just affect the pious? One does not know. But it is certain that no Protestant can afford to ignore the innovations that are bound to appear in Roman Catholic "practical theology."

An American Plea

The implicit thesis of this discussion has been that the most probable long-term contribution of the U.S. to the teaching of Practical Theology has been in the experiments of "learning through supervised experience." And our general conclusion from these experiments—

with all their ups and downs, defeats as well as victories—is that it is self-deceptive and self-defeating to try to treat the content of Practical Theology without concomitant attention to the methods of learning and teaching it.

We Americans are *not* "functionalists" in the debased sense that would ignore the sources, the divine command, the biblical witness, or the understanding of ministry as servanthood. But an alleged understanding of "Practical Theology" that contains no functional analysis seems to us a contradiction in terms. If the heart of ministry is servanthood, then learning and teaching ministry requires precisely analysis of that actual service. Not even the most clandestine retreats to the prerogatives of the ordained minister can obscure the fact that such a course is retreat from service to power. To be sure, important issues remain of appropriate "pastoral authority" in the ordained ministry. They cannot be approached, however, except politically and nostalgically, but by the inclusion of functional analysis. A servant is a servant not by reason of his faith; for that is God's gift to him. He is a servant because of what, in gratitude for God's grace, and in the light of his developed understanding and competencies, he actually does. Servanthood is function. Committed and humble servanthood means criticism of function. Deferring functional analysis until the next conference is irresponsible to the situation.

PRAYER

With the rich gracious aid of thy free spirit, our God,
 We behold the majesty and glory of thy presence.
 For the origin of heaven and earth,
 For the natural easy rhythms of rain and sun,
 And for the creation of those moments when we have been established,
 We are grateful.
 For we confess that our hope was born in those moments,
 In days when we found thy faithfulness with us,
 In the days when thou didst open to us the timeless possibility
 For hope and peace.

With this memory,
 We call upon thee as the creator and redeemer of our days
 To hear our cry for a renewed understanding of ourselves,
 Of our mission,
 And of our world,
 The world we too often have rejected,
 The world that too often has rejected us because of the demands it
 makes upon us.

Be with us in this place,
 For here we have found the integrity of our service,
 Our questions, our confessions, our sincerity
 Challenged by deceit, silence, rebuke, and half-truth.
 We are confused,
 For it seems that our living here
 As we explore the hopes and fears of ministry
 Has not been what it should.

We ask for grace
 To accept and confess
 Doubt as well as assurance
 And faith as well as fear.
 Grant us understanding of our speech with others
 So that we may heal our perverted assumptions
 About what ought to happen in the lives of others here.
 Grant us discretion in relation to the old and the new,
 The knowledge and the methods
 To the task of ministry,
 The very task we came here to question and assume.
 And finally grant us courage to bring a recreated faith to bear
 Upon the darkness of silence
 And irrelevant words.

With thy redeeming grace,
 Free us to heal our living here,
 Free us to establish trust, honesty, and acceptance
 With our neighbors here,
 So that with an honest understanding of our days
 And with thy free spirit,
 We can answer thee and the neighbors who surround this place. Amen.

—Prayer given during morning Chapel, October 18, 1967,
 by Laird J. Stuart (A.B., Amherst; B.D., Princeton, 1968).

BOOK REVIEWS

Theology

Systematic Theology, by Paul Tillich. University of Chicago Press. Harper & Row, New York, N.Y., 1967. Pp. 911. \$12.50.

The Theology of Rudolf Bultmann, edited by Charles W. Kegley. Harper & Row, New York, N.Y., 1966. Pp. 320. \$5.75.

An overview of the thought of two of the theological giants of the past generation is presented in these two publications. The first is a reprint in one volume of Volumes I, II, and III of Tillich's *Systematic Theology*, while the second in the usual format of *The Library of Living Theology* series contains an autobiographical statement by Bultmann, sixteen critical essays on various aspects of his work, a rejoinder by Bultmann, and a comprehensive bibliography going back to his earliest publications in 1908.

Tillich's *Systematic Theology* is his *magnum opus*, an impressive setting forth of the scope of the Christian faith against the background of secular culture and alienated Western man. Volume I, published in 1951, presents the first two parts, "Reason and Revelation" and "Being and God," Volume II, published in 1957, contains the third part, "Existence and the Christ," and Volume III, published in 1963, consists of parts four and five, "Life and the Spirit" and "History and the Kingdom of God."

Since these volumes have been reviewed separately, it will suffice here to comment on a few aspects of Tillich's thought. The first has to do with the question of "why a system?" when such an enterprise has been radically challenged today by those who criticize the theologian for knowing too much, answering too many questions no one is asking, and purporting to wrap up the truth in a single package at a time when truth must be striven for and can only be obtained in bits and pieces. To this Tillich replies that the construction of a system has forced him to be consistent, has been the instrument enabling him to discover the relations be-

tween symbols and concepts not otherwise apparent, and has led him to see theology in its wholeness, as a *Gestalt*.

The second comment deals with Tillich's method of correlation, the relation between existential questions and theological answers. While in earlier reviews, e.g., in *Interpretation*, Volume XII, Number 4, I have been critical of this method as presupposing a symmetrical relationship between question and answer and for not taking seriously enough the priority of revelation and the way it questions the whole of human existence, including our questions, there can be no doubt that Tillich's methodology is one of his most significant contributions to theology. It challenges the theologian to move out of the safety and security of his traditions and to participate in his whole being in the problems of the historical situation and to struggle for relevant answers. This does not preclude listening to God's Word; on the contrary, it can put us in the position to hear and to act.

Finally, Tillich, on the basis of Volumes I and II, has been criticized for being too individualistic and for failing to take into sufficient account the nature of the Church and the corporate. This criticism is demolished, it seems to me, by the extremely illuminating discussion of the Church and of the nature of the Christian community in the section dealing with "Life and the Spirit." Anti-institutionalists will find no comfort here.

Tillich has described himself as being by blood and passion an ontologist and has characterized Bultmann as being by blood and passion an ethicist. They were colleagues, along with Martin Heidegger, in Marburg after World War I, and although they moved beyond the old liberal tradition both refused to make a break with it. Bultmann, Kegley writes, "has the distinction of having identified and shaped most of the questions with which contemporary scholars must wrestle." He has been remarkably consistent in his work as New Testament exegete and critic since the publication of *The History of the Synoptic Tradition* in 1921. His collaboration with Barth and others in the Confessing Church during the struggle with Hitler and his involvement in the "demythologizing"

controversy are to be understood in this context, the former through his concern for preserving the freedom of the Gospel and the latter through his belief that a new way must be found for communicating the Gospel to modern man.

Dr. Kegley has performed a useful service by bringing together scholars from various traditions and with different viewpoints to look critically at Bultmann's work. The first essay by Guenther Bornkamm gives an excellent account of Bultmann's theology, tracing its background to two roots, the historicocritical movement and dialectical theology. Edwin Good of Stanford explores the meaning of demythologizing, Schubert Ogden criticizes Bultmann for not applying his principles rigorously enough, John Macquarrie writes on the relation of philosophy to theology in Bultmann's thought, and Paul Minear contributes a solid chapter on "Rudolf Bultmann's Interpretation of New Testament Eschatology." To these essays as well as to the other eleven Bultmann adds an irenic response, carefully and appreciatively taking into account his critics' questions.

For Tillich and Bultmann the problem of methodology is central, and it will continue to be a crucial issue in the theological enterprise. Both have pointed the way methodologically that should take theology beyond any Tillich or Bultmann "scholasticism" to a deeper understanding of man's nature and quest and of the gift of grace that comes through Jesus the Christ.

JAMES I. McCORD

Christ the Meaning of History, by Hendrikus Berkhof. John Knox Press, Richmond, Va., 1966. Pp. 224. \$5.50.

This book was first published in Dutch in 1958, has gone through four editions in the Netherlands, and has had wide influence in Europe. It is the work of a Biblical theologian on the faculty of the University of Leiden, who has also published in English studies on *Christ and the Powers* and *The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit*.

The question with which this volume deals is posed in a quotation from John Marsh's *The Fulness of Time*: "If history has been fulfilled, but still continues, how and when

will it end? And, since it must continue, what is its significance until it ends?" Such problems have arisen, predictably, out of the emphasis on today's history being an "interim" between First Coming and Second Coming, Decisive Battle and Victory Day, with evil defeated and all of the issues apparently settled. The believer, on the other hand, knows that a struggle continues, that he is willy-nilly involved in it, but he is left with little clue to the meaning of this struggle or to how he can participate meaningfully in it.

Dr. Berkhof begins by tracing the course of Europe's loss of a sense of history, the "idea that made Europe great," and the development of the communist conviction about the meaning of history. "Thus many nations," he writes, "must make the unfortunate choice between a wrong meaning or no meaning at all." Chapters follow on the meaning of historical events in the Old Testament (here the Royal Psalms and the Prophets are central as history is described as the terrain on which God executes his battle against the adversaries, a battle whose outcome is certain because it is anchored in creation), Jesus Christ as the end and beginning of history ("We can . . . describe the event of the Kingdom which was set into motion by Jesus' cross and resurrection, and which is being realized throughout the world by the missionary endeavour, as an analogy of the Christ-Event which is being realized throughout the world"), the crucified Christ in history ("the antichrist is the organic end-product of a becoming Christian de-Christianized world"), and the consummation of history.

This bare outline cannot do justice to the author's solid Biblical interpretation or to his provocative treatment of such crucial topics as the meaning of secularization, the humanization of man, and the materialization of nature. In this regard the chapter on "The Missionary Endeavor as a History-Making Force" is the key and should be read by all who seek to understand the mission of the Church in both theological and historical perspectives. The new optimists will find a corrective in Dr. Berkhof's delineation of the dialectical character of history, as the Gospel brings forth both forces for good and counter-forces, with the autonomy of man taking

place simultaneously with the enthronement of Christ.

This book is highly recommended as an antidote to the short views and easy answers that abound in our day.

JAMES I. McCORD

Brief Outline on the Study of Theology, by Friedrich Schleiermacher. John Knox Press, Richmond, Va., 1966. Pp. 132. \$2.50.

The *Brief Outline* contains the ground-plan of Schleiermacher's theological thought and stands with the *Addresses on Religion* and *The Christian Faith* as perhaps the most significant trilogy produced by any modern theologian. It has, however, long been inaccessible in English, and one can only express gratitude to Terrence Tice for translating and editing and to John Knox Press for publishing in a paperback edition this theological and methodological gem.

In the first paragraph theology is defined as a "positive science, whose parts join together into a cohesive whole only through their common relation to a particular mode of faith, i.e., a particular way of being conscious of God." Thus theology's starting point is neither anthropological nor theological but in relationship within the context of the Christian community. The author then proceeds to discuss the place of theology in the formation of the leadership of the Church and the basic aims of theological education, while the bulk of the treatise consists of an explication of the tripartite organization of theological studies: philosophical theology, historical theology, and practical theology. What Schleiermacher has to say about the nature of the theological enterprise, its locus, integrity, and its demands, is strikingly relevant and may well be, as the editor contends, a look toward the future of theology.

Dr. Tice, whose doctoral dissertation at Princeton Seminary was on *Schleiermacher's Theological Method*, has provided a general introduction and a résumé as well as critical notes. He has also published a comprehensive *Schleiermacher Bibliography*, which may be ordered from Princeton Theological Seminary. His critical work has put him in the forefront of Schleiermacher scholars today.

JAMES I. McCORD

Between Faith and Thought, by Richard Kroner. Oxford University Press, New York, N.Y., 1966. Pp. 203. \$4.95.

This volume of essays, with the subtitle "Reflections and Suggestions," is the work of an eminent philosopher of religion, who is perhaps best known for his Gifford Lectures published as *The Primacy of Faith*. His concern here is not to develop systematically the relationship between faith and thought but to illuminate this relationship through studies of various dimensions of religious thought. The result is a series of chapters emphasizing the primacy of faith and almost confessional in tone. "One cannot speak about God," Kroner writes, "one can only converse with the Lord in prayer or in preaching."

This is not to say that the essays do not reflect broad erudition or critical rigor. On the contrary, each chapter exhibits the breadth of the author's scholarship and his intimate knowledge of the history of ideas as he deals with such themes as revelation and speculation as two approaches to the knowledge of God, the divine transcendence, salvation as salvation from the Absurd, God as the Good in person, the difference between existentialism as a philosophy of existence and an existential attitude, God as both Being and "a" being, the relation between the Old and New Testaments, and the drama of salvation. Of special interest is the essay "On Spiritual Imagination," where the prophet and poet are compared. ("The artist moves as it were from earth up toward heaven, the prophet from heaven down toward the earth. The artist serves the Muses, daughters of Zeus, the prophet serves the holy Lord"), and the final chapter analyzing the theological situation today.

Although there are aspects of Kroner's theology that should be questioned, e.g., his handling of the atonement as revelatory rather than active, he builds a good case against both Heidegger and Feuerbach and for the place of faith in the totality of human life. His conclusion: "Beware of the Absolute and cling to God!"

JAMES I. McCORD

Perspectives on 19th and 20th Century Protestant Theology, by Paul Tillich.

Harper & Row, New York, N.Y., 1967.
Pp. 252. \$5.95.

Paul Tillich has been known in America primarily as a philosophical theologian and as a penetrating analyst of the spiritual diseases of Western culture and Western man. But readers of his *Systematic Theology*, noting his ability to illuminate entire cultural epochs with a phrase or a sentence, have suspected what his students have always known, that he was steeped in the history of philosophy and theology and that his grasp of the intricacies of the history of ideas was encyclopedic. Now his lectures on Protestant theology in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have been published posthumously, and these, along with the soon-to-be published lectures on the history of Christian thought, will make available to the general public historical materials that are crucial to understanding Tillich's work and his place in modern theology.

The task of editing lectures delivered from notes and recorded during the spring quarter of 1963 fell to Carl E. Braaten, who has also provided a useful introduction on "Paul Tillich and the Classical Christian Tradition." He makes clear that Tillich was not a historiographer but sought, rather, to deal existentially with historical materials in order to show "how we have arrived at the present situation." The reader will thus learn as much about Tillich's own thought from these chapters as he will about the ideas of the philosophers and theologians in the periods surveyed.

Although the course of lectures promised to deal with this century and its predecessor, more attention is given to seventeenth century Orthodoxy, Pietism, and Rationalism than to Bultmann and to Barth. This may be explained by the necessity to paint the proper background for the classic-romantic reaction against the Enlightenment and for the synthesizing work of Schleiermacher and Hegel. Tillich's esthetic appreciation of the systematic work of Hegel is a welcome antidote to the sort of criticism to which he has been subjected in recent decades. In a chapter entitled "The Breakdown of the Universal Synthesis," Feuerbach, Schelling, Kierkegaard, Marx, and Nietzsche are analyzed as critics of Hegel and as prophetic precursors of the twentieth century.

The final chapter outlines new ways of mediation in this century, which were not a new beginning in theology or a new breakthrough, but "more an attempt to save what could be saved, and to combine parts of the tradition of Hegel and Schleiermacher with the Christian tradition . . . The problem they all had was to gain certainty about the contents of the Christian message, after the critical movements of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries had arisen."

To follow Tillich through the pages of this volume is to follow a virtuoso. He had the unique ability to move straight to the center of a man's thought, to interpret him in his context, and to appreciate in his work his essential contribution to the intellectual dialogue which constitutes our Christian and cultural heritage.

JAMES I. McCORD

How I Changed My Mind, by Karl Barth. John Knox Press, Richmond, Va., 1966. Pp. 96. \$3.

On three occasions *The Christian Century* requested Karl Barth to contribute to the series "How I Changed My Mind," and the three responses covering the decades between 1928 and 1958 are contained in this volume. The editor, Professor John D. Godsey of Drew, who also edited *Karl Barth's Table Talk*, has added a verbal portrait of Barth and an account of Barth's life until 1928 and from 1958 to the present.

There is little that is new to write about the personality of Karl Barth. Already he is a legend in his own time, much against his will. Primary attention in this book will be focused on Barth's early opposition to Hitler on theological grounds, his refusal to sanctify the West during the years of the Cold War ("I regard anticommunism as a matter of principle an evil even greater than communism itself"), his pains to explain himself to his American readers, his prodigious output of work as the *Church Dogmatics* grew from volume to volume, and his unswerving dedication to Jesus Christ as the living center of the Christian faith. These are welcome chapters from the autobiography of one of the Church fathers who is also our contemporary.

JAMES I. McCORD

Biblical

The Laws in the Pentateuch and other Studies, by Martin Noth (trans. by D. R. Ap-Thomas, with an Introduction by Norman W. Porteous). Fortress Press, Philadelphia, 1967. Pp. xiv + 289. \$8.50.

This book by the well-known professor of Old Testament at the University of Bonn, Germany, contains eleven essays, which had originally appeared in various journals (1938-1958) and then were assembled and published under the title *Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament* (1957; 2nd edition, 1960) in order to make them more easily available to Biblical scholars. This English translation now renders the work of an eminent Old Testament scholar accessible to a wider circle of students of the Bible who otherwise would not have become acquainted with these valuable contributions.

The book derives its title from the first chapter, where the aim is to fix the actual place of the "law" within the history transmitted by the O.T. Professor Noth rightly maintains that, if theological ethics is to be more than merely a subsidiary branch of philosophical ethics, it must accept the presentation of law in the Old and New Testaments as the foundation for its study. It was an easy adaptation of terminology to apply the term Law to the Pentateuch, since the laws comprise the central substance and principal content of the first section of the O.T. Eventually as a popular designation of the Old and New Testaments arose the expression "Law and Gospel," but Luther found both entities in juxtaposition throughout the entire Bible.

The author correctly starts with the view that the law does not appear as a unit, and he naturally assumes a critical approach to the problem. He believes that the Book of the Covenant (Ex. 20:23-23:19) was formed between the entry into Canaan and the establishment of the monarchy and that the Deuteronomic Code was enacted (II Kings 22; 23:1-3, 21-25) in the final third of the seventh century B.C. He recognizes the difficulty of dating the Holiness Code (Lev. 17-26), but states that the earliest possible date for the document would be the very

end of the Judaean monarchy. Accordingly the unity of the law is clearly based on a tradition developed in a later period that ascribed it to the work of Moses; thus the editorial insertion of the laws into the narrative of the sojourn of the Israelites at Sinai brought it about that the legal portions lie close to one another in the Pentateuch.

According to the author there is no clear line of demarcation between sacred and civil law, and he maintains that in the different spheres with which the O.T. codes deal the current existence of a legal system is presupposed. He furthermore shows that the O.T. law codes have not been satisfactorily explained as state laws; if there were any such laws, they have not been transmitted to us in the O.T. In connection with a study of O.T. law there comes up the history of the name Israel, which originally was the designation of a sacral confederacy or amphictyony of the twelve tribes. Noth concludes that the preexilic codes in the Pentateuch served a current situation in the confederacy of the Israelite tribes which with its own functions still survived in the period of the monarchy and that the laws apply within the framework of a situation arising out of the covenant. As regards the finding of the Book of Deuteronomy the writer points out that the influence of the finding of this law was effectively felt only after the reformation (621 B.C.) was already under way. The requirement of a single sanctuary (Deut. 12: 13-18) probably became established in written tradition in the seventh century, but the observation is made that the sacral confederacy of the twelve tribes from the very beginning had one single sanctuary. Concerning the stern prohibition of idolatry and apostasy, the author believes that the law codes of the O.T. are based on an attitude which already existed in opposition to the multiplicity of Canaanite deities.

An interesting section of the first chapter deals with the validity of the law during the transition period. The writer shows that the old order broke down in the historical catastrophes between the second half of the eighth century and the beginning of the sixth. From this he proceeds to the discussion of the law as an absolute entity or a power in its own right as it developed in the late period. In this connection Noth observes that in the end this led to a de-

parture from the authentic foundation of faith which in the preexilic writings had been the subject of the tradition, the ordinances, and the testimonies. Yet such a trend is not uncommon, and in the final paragraph of the chapter he makes the point that it is the fate of human institutions which had their origin in definite historical situations to decline in the course of history.

Noth has a good sense of history, and as regards Jerusalem he holds that Deuteronomy added considerably to the advancement of the unique significance of that city as the place of the cult for Israel. The writer shows that the O.T. considers all kings as mortals and that divinity was never accorded to the monarchs in Jerusalem. In the chapter on History and the Word of God a number of pertinent illustrations are drawn from the Mari texts (end of eighteenth century B.C.); he also remarks that God confronts man in this sinful world and makes use of the historical events of the world. There are also chapters discussing Righteousness and the Law, History in O.T. Apocalyptic, the Holy Ones of the Most High, and Office and Vocation in the O.T. In the final chapter on the significance of the destruction of Jerusalem Noth concludes that only after Israel had entirely accepted the divinely ordained judgment could they be told by Deuteronomy that God would create a new order.

This book cannot be called easy reading, but the minister who studies it carefully will be richly rewarded in having a better understanding of the Old Testament and a clearer insight into Biblical studies which will bear fruit in his preaching.

HENRY S. GEHMAN

The Historical Jesus in the Gospel of St. John, by Franz Mussner. Herder and Herder, New York, N.Y., 1967. Pp. 115. \$2.50.

The Gospel According to John (I-XIII) Introduction, Translation, and Notes, by Raymond E. Brown. (*The Anchor Bible*, vol. 29.) Doubleday & Company, Inc., Garden City, N.Y., 1966. Pp. cxlv + 538. \$7.00.

These two books, written by prominent Roman Catholic scholars of Germany and

America, make notable contributions to the interpretation of the Fourth Gospel.

The monograph by Professor Mussner of Regensburg, Germany, is a model of tightly-knit exposition of the hermeneutical orientation of the Fourth Evangelist. The author analyzes several verbs in the terminology which John uses to express the significance of Jesus Christ, such as "to see," "to hear," "to come," "to know," "to testify," "to bring to remembrance," and concludes that the Johannine kerygma is the product of the Johannine act of vision. Since this terminology is found not only in the narrative portions of the Fourth Gospel but also in the discourses of the Johannine Christ, Mussner concludes that "the Johannine Christ speaks John's language, and to such an extent that the question of the *ipsissima vox Jesu*, which in regard to the synoptic tradition is an entirely meaningful one, becomes almost without object, if not meaningless, in regard to the fourth gospel" (p. 81). At the same time, however, Mussner is concerned to safeguard the canonical authority of the Fourth Gospel, concluding that "the very fact that the Johannine Christ speaks John's language is in accord with the Church's teaching about the inspiration of Scripture" (p. 93).

Professor Brown, who teaches New Testament at St. Mary's Seminary in Baltimore, has published in *The Anchor Bible* series the first of a two-volume commentary on the Johannine Gospel and Epistles. Unlike several of the other volumes in that series, this contribution rises distinctly above the ordinary, and makes an outstanding contribution to Biblical studies. The author, who is thoroughly at home in the research concerned with the Dead Sea Scrolls, brings to his task a wide-ranging familiarity with the chief literary, historical, and theological problems relating to the Johannine literature.

In an extensive introduction Father Brown discusses the unity and composition of the Fourth Gospel, as well as the value of the information found only in John. In a balanced and finely nuanced statement, he suggests that while "we must recognize in the fourth evangelist a man of theological genius who has put something of himself and of his own outlook into the composition of the Gospel," it is right to recall "the Gospel's own claim to be dependent on the teaching of a disciple who was particularly

loved by Jesus (21:20 and 24; 19:35). If this is true, a certain connaturality of thought between disciple and master might be presumed" (p. lxiv).

There are informative and perceptive discussions of the Gospel's ecclesiology, sacramentalism, eschatology, and wisdom motifs. The author's judgment in text-critical problems is well-informed and eminently sane. He takes a moderately restrained position on the symbolism of the Evangelist, and occasionally rejects possible symbolic allusions. All in all, this commentary is likely to remain for many years a model in clarity of exposition, open-minded scholarly judgment, and painstaking research within a broad spectrum of relevant literature. We await with eagerness the completion of the second volume, which will include the exegesis of chapters 13-21 and of the three Johannine Epistles.

BRUCE M. METZGER

The Acts of the Apostles (The Anchor Bible). Introduction, Translation and Notes, by Johannes Munck. Doubleday & Co., New York, N.Y., 1967. Pp. xc + 318. \$6.00.

Although the period since World War II has brought forth a remarkable number of articles and monographs on the book of Acts, it has not produced many full-length commentaries in English. For that reason alone, this last work of Johannes Munck is welcome.

When Professor Munck died in February 1965, shortly after returning to Aarhus University in Denmark (following a semester's teaching at Princeton Theological Seminary), his commentary still required final editing. That task was undertaken by Professor William F. Albright and Dr. C. S. Mann, who also added occasional notes to the commentary (distinguished by asterisks) and fifty-four pages of appendices "on problems not discussed in detail by the author."

Reading Acts, says Munck with felicitous imagery, is like travelling through Switzerland. Just as that country is united by nature and human effort despite its many disparate areas separated by mountains, so Acts is unified by its author's purpose despite the individual features in form and content of its dif-

ferent chapters. The author was one of Paul's companions, intimately acquainted with him; but Munck is not sure that he was a Gentile, a physician, or bore the name of Luke. He wrote Acts as a defense of Paul and Christianity, immediately after finishing the Gospel of Luke and while the apostle's trial in Rome was still in progress (hence the peculiar inconclusiveness of chap. 28). The essential theory is as old as Eusebius and raises difficult questions about the dating of the other gospels, but Munck urges it with vigor and some persuasiveness. He also offers provocative reinterpretations of Paul and Jewish Christianity (the apostle was not the first to proclaim the impossibility of salvation through Law), views argued more fully in his earlier work, *Paul and the Salvation of Mankind*.

On the complex issue of the historicity of Acts, Munck's position is conservative but critical. He admits, for example, that the writer's knowledge of Paul's career and theology was limited and sometimes inaccurate (as in the case of the Apostolic Council), and he thinks that many of Peter's speeches in Acts were reconstructed from a general knowledge of his preaching. On the other hand, and in opposition to more radical critics, Munck regards the author as a selective but essentially faithful transmitter of the traditions he received; he did not create or remodel his materials.

In the commentary proper, Munck discusses mainly the historical content of Acts, often relating it to our other sources of information for the period (including archaeology) and from time to time noting linguistic and textual problems. At points the exegesis is skimpy, and Munck is sometimes content to paraphrase the text rather than inquire into the nature of the events behind it. His only comments on the factuality of the miracle stories are general and cryptic (e.g., "It may be doubted that wonders ever happened, but the events which were taken by the first Christians to be signs and wonders cannot be denied," p. 45).

The commentary will commend itself to both general readers and specialists. While not offering many interpretive surprises, the work displays erudition and moderate judgment on almost every page, and it is written with clarity and verve. Its single greatest weakness—judging by comparison with

other recent studies—lies in its minimal treatment of the theological purposes of the author of Luke-Acts. This is connected with the quite limited discussion accorded the views of other scholars. That the religious significance of Acts for our time should hardly be hinted at is perhaps to be expected in a commentary in the *Anchor* series. But even the most historically-oriented commentary should take greater note of the religious ideas and aims of the book's writer. The fresh translation of the text of Acts is readable and generally illuminating, sometimes quite free, in a few instances dubious (e.g., why "interpreter" in 26:16?).

The appendices by Albright and Mann comprise nine stimulating essays on such topics as the organization of the Jerusalem church (in relation to Qumran), Simon Magus, and Paul's education. Probably the most important is a summary of the novel argument of Professor Abram Spiro that Stephen's speech is a missionary tract of primitive Samaritan Christianity. This and other controversial theses advanced in the appendices will probably be of interest chiefly to other scholars.

On the whole this volume is an important contribution to the study of Christian origins, and one which no student of Acts should neglect.

DAVID M. HAY

Index to Periodical Literature on Christ and the Gospels, Compiled under the Direction of Bruce M. Metzger. E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1966. Pp. xxiii + 602.

The scholarly world is once more indebted to the indefatigable labors of Professor Metzger and to the skill with which he has organized and directed the work of his students in compiling this index. The volume, with its 10,090 entries taken from 160 periodicals written in sixteen languages including Afrikaans, Danish, Lithuanian, Norwegian, Russian, Serbian and Swedish, gives the titles of all articles from the time when each journal began to appear (one began in 1826) until the present or until the date when the journal ceased publication. The result is a comprehensive bibliography without parallel on the subject and a model for all future bibliographers. The 10-page table

of contents and the 50-page author index make it possible for the reader to move comfortably through the labyrinth of names and periodicals. Besides the ordinary subject divisions there is an unusual section devoted to the influence and interpretation of Jesus Christ and the Gospels in worship, the fine arts, and culture in general.

Under each section and subdivision entries are placed in chronological sequence, an arrangement which allows the shrewd beginner to follow the hint of J. C. Hurd in his *Bibliography of New Testament Bibliographies* (1966) and to start with the best recent title, knowing that the modern scholar should give a selected bibliography of the most important titles on the matter in question.

The perusal of the table of contents reveals a veritable gold mine for the research student and the doctoral candidate. The reviewer was somewhat surprised at the small number of entries on English versions, but then discovered that another later section (pp. 202-203) deals with word studies keyed to the English translation. Inspiration (p. 410) lists only seven items. This is surprising in view of the extensive discussion of the matter among Catholic scholars such as P. Benoit, J. Coppens, and K. Rahner, none of whose contributions on the topic are mentioned. See, e.g., P. Benoit, "Note complémentaire sur l'inspiration," *Revue Biblique* 63 (1956) 416-422; J. Coppens, "L'inspiration et l'inerrance biblique," *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 33 (1957) 36-57; K. Rahner, "Über die Schriftinspiration," *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 78 (1956) 137-168. In a volume of such magnitude and complexity as this index similar omissions are unavoidable but a spot check revealed the care with which the work has been done. It is our hope that all New Testament scholars will constantly utilize this priceless key to the treasures of the Gospels.

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JOHN J. COLLINS, S.J.

History

From Primitives to Zen: A Thematic Sourcebook of the History of Religions,
Compiled and edited by Mircea Eliade.

Harper & Row, New York, N.Y., 1967.
Pp. 645. \$8.00.

This impressive anthology promises more than it actually delivers. The inclusion/exclusion problem and its resolution prove all but onerous. As a thematic sourcebook of the history of religion, the volume succeeds in bringing together tailored-to-order materials on the religious life of primitive and ancient non-Western man. The undergirding principle of selection is at once scintillating and colored by a gifted author's nuances and penchants. The work reflects not just Professor Mircea Eliade's charm but also an obsession with peculiar pet theories. The outcome is a collection noticeably thematic in that it is steeped in such dimensions of Eliade's controversial assumptions as those inspiring his studies of archaic man and the implications placed upon the results of this research in yoga and shamanism. Woven into the hermeneutics is the grand strategy of an inherent acceptance of the *coincidentia oppositorum* as an integral bastion of this scholar's advanced humanist approach to the history of religions.

Under such a thematic morphology for classification of sacred documents, one is duly apprised of archaic patterns and cosmogonies. To these are subordinated primitive divinities and conceptions of death, afterlife, and eschatology. Embraced in this fashion are documents depicting many faiths—all the way from primitivism (cullings drawn on a strictly anthropological basis) to the ancient religions of the Near East, Islam, and late Buddhism. Coverage extends to myths of creation, sacred/profane themes, sacrifice and ritual, initiation, holy personages, spiritual techniques, and such forms of ultimate reality as gods, self, and the God.

Excluded from the volume are Hebraic-Judaic and Christian documents—lest bulk and price assume prohibitive proportions. Such omissions deal a staggering blow to the work's potential usefulness. It raises a qualitative question on Eliade's basic assumption and whatever historical criticism informs his conduct of research. One is far from happy over a recent prediction of this eminent scholar (see Marty and Peerman, *New Theology* No. 4, New York, 1967, p. 38) forecasting the fragmentation and eventual disappearance of the history of religions

as its role shall be fulfilled by philology, sociology and anthropology. Yet he himself concedes that the void left by such a disappearance will not be filled and that the gravity of our responsibility is here to stay.

Eliade is as determined as ever to reach no meaningful understanding with either theology or Christianity. The compilation reflects his consistent detachment *vis-à-vis* constructive religious thought. Authentic intimations of how we are to live with the question of religious truth are hard to come by in Eliade's sophisticated exposition. Instead the norms of anthropology are deftly refined for any *honnête homme* who seeks the light of knowledge in this important domain! Professor Eliade is curiously chary in the implementation of the phenomenology of religion where the central requirements of eidetic vision and *epoché* are standard. These two norms of phenomenology commit the historian of religions to understand a given religious phenomenon precisely as it appears and to take its exposures on the world stage as manifestations of its specific essence. But these criteria are politely set aside (p. 285) where the Islamic viewpoint is ruled out and Muhammad rather than God is credited with the institution of the daily prayers. Even more ironical (p. 490) is the veiled ascription of "revelation" to the Prophet rather than his Lord.

Equally inexplicable is the disregard for internal structures of particular faiths. The erudite compiler-editor apparently is more preoccupied with findings of Western scholars even where their outsider's view happens to be at variance with the internal evidence of the case. He is not invariably eager to report what the great religions and cultures of the world reveal about their inner secret and identity. Anyone conversant enough with Islam, for instance, will acknowledge that along with *kalam* (dogmatics) and Sufi mysticism there is in that great religion's literary armory an important genre described as *fiqh*, that is a jurisprudence grounded in theology. It constitutes the legal foundation of religious, political and civil life. To deny the reader confrontation with *kalam* and *fiqh* reflects a lack of sensibility to the inner working of an important sacred literature in its theological manifestations.

In short, the anthology draws together an attractive array of quotations and excerpts

from secondary sources (translations). These are in general reproduced without as much as a visible indication or hint that the original has been at all verified or consulted at first hand. Surely the religious literature of mankind deserves better than to be subjected in the above manner to an arbitrary Procrustean bed in the interest of a merely functional disposition and outlook.

EDWARD J. JURJI

Toward an Undivided Church, by Douglas Horton. Association Press, New York, and University of Notre Dame Press, Notre Dame and London, 1967. Pp. 96. \$2.50.

The Second Vatican Council stands as a landmark in the history of modern Catholicism. Summoned in a moment of inspiration by the late Pope John XXIII, its announced purpose was *aggiornamento*, to bring the Church up to date and to streamline it for mission and service in the modern world. It will be years, even decades, before the significance of the Council can be properly assessed. Already, however, its enormous influence has been evident in reforms and renewal within the Catholic Church, in new and deeper relations with non-Roman Churches, and in the beginning of theological dialogues between traditions that will inevitably have to deal with the nature of the Church and the imperative to unity.

Roman Catholic theologians are now engaged in an intensive appraisal of Vatican II and its meaning for the Church. Their Protestant counterparts, however, have not yet fulfilled this responsibility by analyzing its import for Protestantism. Hence the welcome that will be extended to Douglas Horton's *Toward an Undivided Church*, which outlines candidly many of the issues that continue to divide Christians and describes the new atmosphere produced by Vatican II that gives promise for progress in mutual understanding. As an official Protestant observer at the sessions in Rome and as a leader of ecumenism in Protestantism for years, the former Dean of Harvard Divinity School writes with candor and realism about difficult issues that remain to be resolved, e.g., authority and freedom, papal infallibility, the veneration of saints, birth control, etc., but

all these are subordinate to what he calls "the first principle that simple human friendship is the only path along which misunderstandings may be resolved and ultimate unity achieved."

Part 2 of the book contains texts of addresses to Protestant and Orthodox observers at Vatican II by Pope John XXIII, Pope Paul VI, and Augustin Cardinal Bea.

JAMES I. McCORD

American Bishop at the Vatican Council, by Robert E. Tracy. McGraw-Hill, New York, N.Y., 1966. Pp. x + 242. \$6.50.

The literature on Vatican II may well turn to be a headache for librarians and library users alike, on account of its proliferation, diversity of scope, and unequal value. It usually falls into the following categories: journalistic, reports by observers, preparatory studies and comments by *periti*, and official documents. The present volume resists stubbornly that type of classification. It was composed by an American Council Father, the Bishop of Baton Rouge. It contains a goodly supply of miscellaneous anecdotes, and abundant gossip from the "Bar Jonah," by which is meant the *espresso* counter where Council Fathers, experts and observers, mingled freely for coffee-breaks. It quotes limericks (rather flat) by an ecclesiastical wit, Bishop Tracy's colleague. Some chapters of the book do not go without an appearance of *naïveté*, when, for instance, the Bishop relates with pride, and with a touch of irony aimed at himself, how he intervened in the discussion of the scheme *de Ecclesia*, and moved that a statement referring to Christians of all nations and social conditions be made to include the word "race." If you are tempted to smile at the candid manner in which the excellent Bishop describes his otherwise well-founded (and successful) intervention, then just remember the day when your first motion from the floor was recognized by the Moderator of the Presbytery. Do not seek in Bishop Tracy's book a technical discussion of the problems and arguments of the Council. He does not care to do such a thing. But one thing is certain: he is nobody's fool, and he shows forth an unmistakably pastoral concern for the realities and predicament of

the Church, indeed not a church of angels, but of men who seek to be faithful to their divine calling.

GEORGES A. BARROIS

The Le Mans Forgeries, by Walter Goffart. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1966. Pp. xvi + 382. \$8.00.

This laborious probing into a mediaeval literary and historical problem, for long time a riddle, is probably marginal to the general interest of the Bulletin readers. The subject matter of the book is a series of documents from the reign of Charles the Bald, 840-877, tending to vindicate for the bishopric of Le Mans, in the western part of France, the ownership of all and sundry churchlands, real estate, monasteries, nunneries and foundations within the limits of the diocese. These documents have proved to be a forgery imputable to cathedral clerics. The ingenious method used by the forger, or forgers, who were masters at twisting the meaning of church canons and of legal charters, are scrutinized by the author, and his analyses will be methodically invaluable for all historians engaged in similar detective work. In the same time, many facets of Carolingian legislation and customs concerning ecclesiastical property will be better understood, a by-product of the forgeries, which the forgers did not intend. Less technically, this outstanding example of clerical greed, a vice which has affected the Church at all times of its history while circumstances differed, will prove that if churchmen go to heaven by God's grace, as we hope they do, the category of the ἀγιοιἀνάργυροι, the "Unmercenary Saints" of Eastern Orthodox fame, is likely to remain unencumbered.

GEORGES A. BARROIS

The Autobiography of Bertrand Russell, 1872-1914. Little, Brown & Co., Boston, Mass., 1967. Pp. 356. \$7.95.

Bertrand Russell is one of the most distinguished intellectuals whom Britain has produced in the past hundred years. He is an outstanding mathematician who, at the age of thirty-eight, collaborated with A. N. White-

head in producing a classic treatise entitled "Principia Mathematica." He is also, according to Dr. Stuart Hampshire of Princeton University, "one of the three or four greatest philosophers writing in the English language in this century." Besides, he has written extensively on a variety of other subjects such as "The Practice and Theory of Bolshevism" and "The Problem of China" with such distinction that in 1950 he was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature.

In this autobiographical volume Russell tells that story of his life down to the outbreak of World War I in 1914, and he does so with admirable frankness of manner and grace of style. He describes the outward course of his life—his education privately till in 1890 he entered Cambridge University, where he lived in what Lord Snow has recently called "some of the best intellectual company in the world." He tells about his first marriage, the books he wrote and the travel he did, and the lectureship at Cambridge to which he was appointed in 1910. He also presents an account of his inner life and thought, saying that "three passions, simple but overwhelmingly strong," have governed his life—namely, the longing for love, the search for knowledge, and unbearable pity for the suffering of mankind.

This man who emerges from this candid self-portrait is clearly a man of courage and conviction, who has tenaciously held to his views in spite of popular opposition and in scorn of consequence. This quality is well exemplified by his opposition to World War I, which eventually landed him in jail. But equally clearly, he is a man of some perversity. For example, he became a teetotaller to please his first wife, but resumed drinking when King George V took the pledge during World War I. Again, when the Boer War broke out in 1899, he was a Liberal Imperialist—i.e. a supporter of the war. But when the Boers began to be defeated, he changed his mind and became a pro-Boer. Even more seriously, the Bertrand Russell who describes himself in this book has in him a deeply rooted vein of selfishness, particularly in his relations with women. For example he persuaded Lady Ottoline Morrell to become his mistress for a period of five years, and even sought to persuade her to leave her husband and children, though he was at that time still married to his first wife.

Russell once wrote a book entitled "Why I Am Not A Christian." In the light of the story told in this autobiography it is permissible to believe that one reason for his opposition to Christianity—not the only one, of course—is the fact that Christianity demands a quality of self-discipline which he was quite unwilling to accept, particularly in the matter of sex relationships.

It has been said that autobiography is an unrivalled vehicle for telling the truth about other people. This book contains, *inter alia*, perceptive and knowledgeable portraits of some of the great and near great with whom Russell has been associated—for example, George Macaulay Trevelyan, the historian; John Maynard Keynes, the economist; Joseph Conrad, the novelist; and—somewhat surprisingly—M. Carey Thomas, the formidable president of Bryn Mawr College.

Altogether this is an immensely interesting if not always an edifying book.

NORMAN V. HOPE

Religion in America, by Winthrop S. Hudson. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, N.Y., 1965. Pp. 447. \$7.95 (cloth); \$3.95 (paper).

The historian of religion in America is confronted with overwhelming and embarrassing diversity. How can order be brought out of such seeming chaos? One possibility is to select for treatment a single line of development that has internal cohesion and offer this as "representative" of the whole. This is really a subtle evasion of the problem. The other possibility is to embrace everything that has been considered important and to attempt to give the story as much unity as possible. This is the herculean task that Dr. Winthrop S. Hudson, James B. Colgate Professor of History of Christianity at Colgate Rochester Divinity School, has bravely undertaken, and with a high degree of success.

Professor Hudson articulates his material quite methodically. There are four equal "Parts" to the book, each Part occupying a little more than 100 pages, and each Part containing four chapters. Two of these four Parts are devoted to the period since the Civil War, and one to the period since 1914. This is a timely and welcome innovation in

American religious historiography, which gives relatively more space to the forces that have transformed American religious life since the Civil War, and especially since World War I.

Among the chapters there is necessarily great variety of subject matter, which is presented with notable clarity and freshness. The author rightly emphasizes the European roots and continuing European connections of religion in America, with particular emphasis on the importance of English Puritanism, which he defines broadly. Almost from the beginning, however, distinctively "American" features began to appear in this heritage—the breakdown of the Old World parish system, the rising influence of laymen, a heightened sense of a great destiny under God. A chapter each is devoted to the Great Awakening and the American Revolution, which might loosely be called manifestations, respectively, of Pietism and of the Enlightenment, both of which have continued as powerful molding influences on religion in America. Internal housekeeping problems connected with "the reordering of denominational life" after the Revolution are taken care of, and then three chapters deal with the remarkable period of vitality, outreach, and reform in the early nineteenth century. Here the reader views the Second Awakening, the "benevolent empire," the disruption of Calvinism, the rise of Unitarianism and Transcendentalism, the Mormons and the Millerites, utopian communities, the slavery controversy, and the division of the churches.

A new day and new problems followed the Civil War. The author endorses recent historians' laments over the abandonment and failure of Reconstruction efforts to create full citizenship for the Negro. Immigration, renewed anti-Catholicism, burgeoning industry, polyglot cities, a new American imperialism, liberal theology, and the social gospel fill these teeming and interesting pages.

The author's periodization enables him to give much larger space to the important last half century. The "religious depression" after World War I and the theological reconstruction and religious quickening which followed are set forth. A whole chapter is devoted to recent Roman Catholicism and attention is also given to Judaism and to Eastern Orthodoxy. The book appropriately closes with a discussion of Christian unity in its four

aspects of cooperation between individual Christians, federation, church mergers, and the ecumenical movement. There is up-to-the-minute material also on interfaith relationships.

Professor Hudson's book has fresh scholarship, clear and interesting style, and useful footnotes referring to further primary and secondary sources. The work is to be commended highly for use as a college or seminary textbook, for general reading by the pastor, or as a ready reference book (with ample index) for the specialist.

LEFFERTS A. LOETSCHER

Practical Theology

Parish Prayers, edited by Frank Colquhoun. Hodder & Stoughton, London, E.C. 4, 1967. Pp. 445. 30s.

Devotional books of varying degrees of quality and usefulness continue so to load the market that discriminating pietists would welcome an armistice if only for the purpose of evaluating and catching up. Every few years, however, a manual of prayers appears that combines a happy proportion of liturgical scholarship, literary appreciation, and devotional refinement and sensitivity. Already most ministers have had more than a passing acquaintance with admirable compilations by Morgan P. Noyes, Samuel Miller, Roy M. Pearson, William Barclay, and H. E. Fosdick. A more ambitious collection is this more recent volume by Frank Colquhoun, Canon Chancellor of Southwark Cathedral, and author of several books, including *Total Christianity* and *Christ's Ambassadors*.

With a Foreword and gracious endorsement from Donald Coggan, Archbishop of York, this book features nearly 1,800 prayers gathered "out of the treasure-store of the church's life of prayer" (p. vii). They have been selected from traditional denominational sources, from older collections long out of print, from new compositions by contemporary ministers and priests, and from the authorized liturgical books of the churches of the Anglican Communion, the Church of Scotland, and the Church of South India. The collection is classified into six main parts: seasons and festivals of the Christian Year; occasional services or special Sun-

days; the sacraments and ordinances of the Church; the work of the Church and the needs of the world; prayers for particular Christian graces; and supplementary parish prayers.

This volume commends itself highly to ministers and others who lead in services of worship and devotion. Here are classic prayers that echo or reflect the best thoughts of the generations upon man's encounter and intercourse with the Divine. Here are contemporary prayers that appeal, without the vulgarity of a Malcolm Boyd (cf. *Are You Running with me, Jesus?* and *Free to Live, Free to Die*) to the common man in all men. Wise and diligent use of this book can enrich our worship services immeasurably.

DONALD MACLEOD

Pilgrim's Process, by Gerald J. Jud. The United Church Press, Philadelphia, Pa., 1967. Pp. 127. \$2.95.

Gerald J. Jud is General Secretary of the Division of Evangelism of Board for Home Ministries of the United Church of Christ. Before joining the staff he served pastorate for seventeen years in Massachusetts and Connecticut. While minister of the First Congregational Church in West Haven, Connecticut, he pursued graduate work at Yale, earning the doctoral degree in psychology and Christian education. He is chairman of the steering committee of the World Council of Churches' North American section engaged in the study of the missionary structure of the congregation. Dr. Jud brings, therefore, to his interesting and helpful book an admirable background of pastoral experience, graduate study, and ecumenical interest.

Taking his cue from the biblical concept that the Christian and the people of God are pilgrims, he applies this "pilgrim principle" to the local church with skill, clarity, and challenge. The sub-title of his book is, "How the Local Church Can Respond to the New Age." Dr. Jud brings all the latest thought in theology to bear upon a local congregation and points towards a life-style that such a congregation can adopt as a means of dealing with the pressing practical problems that confront it, and at the same time

fulfill its pilgrim destiny of participating in God's mission.

In a day when all sorts of proposals are made for the renewal of the Church, many of which are theoretical, unique, or exotic, this book is a welcome surprise. Pastors will find it most useful for discussion groups. Theological students who are critical of the existing congregation and confused about the present theological situation will find in this book expert guidance couched in a simple, popular, and relevant style.

E. G. HOMRIGHAUSEN

History of Evangelism, by Paulus Scharppf. (Trans. by Helga Bender Henry from the German edition of 1964.) Wm. B. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, Mich., 1966. Pp. 373. \$5.75.

For thirty-eight years Paulus Scharppf was a pastor, author, evangelist, and a lecturer in theology in the theological seminary of the Methodist Church at Frankfurt-on-the-Main, Germany. He died on February 14, 1965. During his lifetime, he was in constant touch with evangelistic groups, especially in central Europe. His parents participated in the holiness movement of the 1870s and in Methodist evangelism. As a student he translated and interpreted for Robert Wilder of the Student Volunteer Movement, and for many years he maintained a working relationship with John R. Mott. He knew R. C. Morgan of the "prayer revival," Evan Roberts of the Welsh revival, as well as Frank Buchman, and more recently, Billy Graham. The latter has written a generous Preface.

The sub-title of the book states that it covers the story of evangelism in Europe, Great Britain, and the United States of America over the past three hundred years. The translator and publisher have strengthened the original German edition by an addition (pp. 312-333) on evangelism in the United States, written by Professor Kenneth L. Chafin of Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary.

There has been a need for a study of this kind. Scharppf's book is filled with information especially on the evangelistic movements inspired by pietism. It contains much about Spener, Francke, Zinzendorf, the Tennents,

Whitefield, Edwards, Frelinghuysen, Finney, Torrey, Moody, Wichern, and others. Here one finds a wealth of information about revival and evangelistic efforts and groups in the German Church which is difficult to find in English. About the latter, Scharppf writes warmly and from first-hand knowledge. The book also contains a rather useful index of churches, organizations, groups, and movements, which may be termed "evangelistic."

There are, however, some aspects of this study which are disappointing. Many of the subjects are dealt with rather sketchily. Too little is said about evangelism in the early Church. Certain projects, such as the Preaching Missions and the University Missions, of the National Council of Churches in the United States are not mentioned. Nothing is included regarding the World Council of Churches' studies in evangelism, or the reports of Vatican Council II. The descriptive nature of the study lacks critical evaluation. And written from a certain point of view it tends to regard pietism as the sole dynamic for evangelism.

In spite of these criticisms, this is a rather useful book. It is a pioneer in a field that needs fuller development. It provides the reader with information about continental revival and evangelistic movements, a field which is quite unknown to the English-speaking church world. And the importance of evangelism in the life of the Church strikes the reader with convincing force.

E. G. HOMRIGHAUSEN

The Friendly Persuader, by Leighton Ford (Introduction by Billy Graham). Harper & Row, New York, N.Y., 1966. Pp. 159. \$3.95.

Leighton Ford is a young Presbyterian minister who is a vice president and associate evangelist of the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association. His ministry has taken him to every continent. He has met with student groups, trade union men, and government leaders; and he has addressed small church meetings and mass meetings numbering 35,000. The book under review is the result of his "practical work in evangelism, his reading in the field, and many discussions." The substance of it has been delivered in the form of lectures to colleges,

seminaries, universities, and ministerial meetings.

Mr. Ford aims to take a "new look" at evangelism today. He believes it is in crisis. He directs his new look towards the following questions: What constitutes our urgency? What form should the Church's mission take? Can the traditional language of evangelism be heard and understood by the modern man? Is personal conversion still relevant? How does traditional evangelism bear on our complex social problems?

Mr. Ford disclaims any pretense to writing a theology or a manual on evangelism. Rather, he wishes to explore some of these crisis areas from the viewpoint of a "practicing evangelist who has wrestled with the challenge of seeking to present Christ effectively both in personal conversation and mass communication."

The book abounds in quotations from a wide list of sources. It is written in a personal and interesting style. It communicates the spirit of Christian experience which animates the author. It is devoid of sectarian criticism, even though he touches upon matters on which there is a vigorous difference of opinion. The entire approach is positive.

Mr. Ford deals with the crisis and recovery of urgency in evangelism; the necessity of engaging in a total evangelism on the part of the total church for the total world; the various methods and forms of evangelistic ministry that are being used today; the role of mass evangelism; the message (Christ) of evangelism; the meaning of the conviction of sin; and the place of decision in evangelism. The book closes with a clear-cut case for the relevance of evangelism.

Mr. Ford repudiates unethical methods; he discounts any stereotyped expression of revival; he eschews any evangelism that is motivated by the desire for statistical success. He chides those who are afraid of associating with sinners for fear of contamination. He appreciates the humanness of Jesus.

What we have in this book is a warm biblical-evangelical evangelism which aims to bring about a personal relationship with Christ; but it sets the Gospel within the context of the Christian fellowship and insists upon a commitment that involves life and action in the secular world. Mr. Ford insists that there are no "private Christians."

For ministers and laymen who wish a con-

vincing and interesting case for personal evangelism with some practical suggestions as to implementation, this book will be both helpful and inspirational.

E. G. HOMRIGHAUSEN

Let Us Worship God: An Interpretation for Families, by John Frederick Jansen. The CLC Press, Richmond, Va., 1966. Pp. 190.

In his introduction John Frederick Jansen states the purpose and thesis of this addition to the Covenant Life Curriculum: "This book is *not* designed to provide detailed direction for worship in the home, nor does it include specific resources for use in family worship. It is written with the conviction that an appreciation of the worship of the church will lead to more creative expressions in worship in the home" (p. 11). In the author's "conviction" and the convincing manner in which he supports it lies the remarkable and distinctive quality of *Let Us Worship God*. Here, for once, is a guide to family worship which combines the best in liturgical scholarship with a perceptive sociological appraisal of the modern family. "Much of our life," he observes, "seems to have more of anxiety than of adoration, more of doubt than of doxology, more of bewilderment than of blessing. . . . What have dishwashing or diapers to do with doxology? How can tedium become a 'Te Deum'?" (p. 51).

Through an elucidation of the themes and movements of Christian worship Dr. Jansen answers his own question, showing always the imperative relationship between the corporate worship of the gathered Church and that which can yet exist in the contemporary family. At no time should we "try to play Church in the home," he argues; yet in the end one is convinced that it is quite possible "to live the liturgy at home."

Let Us Worship God is not a source book of devotional exercises for the family; it is more a theology of family worship—a theology which can be understood and applied by the layman. The welcome results should be the realistic introduction of worship into the home and a strengthening of worship in the sanctuary.

JACK M. MAXWELL

General

A Modern Priest Looks at His Outdated Church, by James Kavanagh. Trident Press (Simon & Schuster, Inc.), New York, N.Y., 1967. Pp. 190. \$4.95.

There have been two types of reaction to this book: one, brought into focus by *Time* magazine (July 7, 1967), brands Father Kavanagh as a "troubled cleric" whose "angry and oversimplified criticism can only hurt rather than help the forces of change within the Church"; the other, epitomized by a remark made by Mary Harrington Hall, magazine editor of *Psychology Today*, exults: "It is the religious book of our generation. This book will move the world." Both of these observations are unfair. The book is bigger than *Time* magazine's deliberate understatement allows, yet few anticipate Kavanagh's theses to have geometrically progressive reverberations.

This book is best described as "an angry young priest speaks his mind" or as David Callahan wrote, "Here is a priest . . . levelling a full charge of buckshot at the Church" (*Saturday Review*, July 29, 1967). What is upsetting is that he does so with an intensity and anguish that results in an outpouring of a miscellany of gripes against every department of the Roman Catholic Church's witness and work. Indeed he "out-Blanshards Blanshard" as he describes his own Church as being "arrogant," "smug," "proud," "desperate," "angry," and "silent"—all in one succinct paragraph! At times, it seems that his target is not so much the Church as "the system" (as if in Romanism they could be distinct) he inveighs against and, for this reason, he pledges to remain within it even though the priestly office should be denied him. Incidentally, Father Kavanagh has recently demitted Holy Orders, which extreme seems to placate his conscience more than the alternative he deplores in his Introduction: "I will not give up my faith. Nor will I accept the travesty, born of another age, which caricatures the Christian ideal" (p. xii).

The thesis of this book is not always clear. Its valve appears to be Vatican II and the new liberty of expression the reforms of that council have brought. Conservative churchmen were farsighted enough to antic-

ipate some rumblings in the wake of the Council, but they were not prepared for such sudden and extreme outbursts as Father Kavanagh's polemic features. Indeed, to quote Callahan again, "What they got, it now seems clear, is an incipient revolution." Certainly they did not expect "the palpable anger so pronounced in Kavanagh's book." Moreover, while other writers of progressive ilk were content to let their manuscripts lie dormant under the shadow of hierarchical restrictions (e.g., Teilhard de Chardin), Father Kavanagh, "though he received no permission to publish his book, went ahead and issued it anyway."

So much for the character of the deed. What about the product? The book is an incisive treatise from the pen of a competent writer. It handles in thirteen closely packed chapters an interpretative account of how Roman Catholicism as a system impinges upon the average priest in the average parish. At times the reader is almost bewildered by his tale—that a system such as he describes should still exist in the twentieth century or, indeed, that it survived the Reformation. At other times, as Protestants, our wildest suspicions and some of our "old wives' tales" about Roman Catholicism are confirmed. He takes us into the sensitive and controversial problems of education, marriage and divorce, legalistic Canon Laws—all the traditional issues—and indicates that underlying all of it is a system that does not permit a priest "to be a man" (p. 27) and that perpetrates upon its people "a legalism that has buried us in guilt and fear and taken away our Lord" (p. 8). At no time, however, does the author's humanitarianism appear to wane; he loves people. Hence the sharpness of his polemic against the Roman Catholic hierarchy and the Church's dogmas is accompanied by an equally intense concern directed "down there with the people" who live "in a world of jets and atomic bombs, and pray in a world of medieval magic" (p. 32). Again and again, he returns to the sorry plight of the average Roman Catholic individual: "The Catholic man is a little boy whose mommy tells him how to think" (p. 34). "He is a Catholic, but his faith seems to miss him at the center of his life" (p. 57).

As a Protestant (I resent the term "non-Catholic," for it suggests a twig separated from the true stalk) one comes away from

this book with somewhat mixed feelings of consternation and regret. The former at the realization that such a religious system continues to exist at all; the latter at the fact that it presumes to exist in the name of Christ to whom all of us of every tradition bear a common allegiance. These reactions are accompanied by a further: curiosity. After thirteen chapters of scalding negations, Father Kavanagh declares, "Nor will I leave the Church. . . . I shall be a Catholic" (p. 179), but in view of the seemingly overwhelming proof of his allegations, what is there (for him) to stay with? Certainly a man of his singular intelligence should realize that as long as the dogmas of the Church of Rome remain what they are, this is what he will get. Moreover, in view of his denunciations, what can he appeal to? Negativism begets few children. This is why this book is biblically and theologically vacuous. What and where are his hidden criteria? The liberty he seems to aspire to and covet for the "enslaved" Roman masses, Protestants have experienced, witnessed to, and enjoyed for four hundred years. This choice seems not to have occurred to him. Or is his oblique reference (p. xii) in his Introduction a discounting of that viable option? Father Kavanagh has earned such plaudits as "overwhelmingly and brilliantly accurate in his depiction of the vast demi-monde of uneducated, conservative Catholicism" (Michael Novak) to "strong medicine from a brave and honest priest" (Justus G. Lawlor). But until he leaves off tilting at fringes and charges the fortress of ancient dogmas, his Church will be what it is and he the subject not of admiration but of pity.

DONALD MACLEOD

Dialogue with the World, by J. G. Davies. SCM Press, London, W.C. 1, 1967. Pp. 79. 4s 6d (paper).

Some half dozen volumes from the pen of J. G. Davies have established not only his reputation as a competent scholar, but also our admiration of his amazing versatility of interests. In a comparatively short period he has given us definitive books on early church history, Christian church architecture, the theology of William Blake, worship and mission; he has found time also to contribute

to and edit the scholarly series, "Ecumenical Studies in Worship." It is with real interest and pleasure that a writer of his competence is turning his focus now to the field of pastoral studies and in some useful monographs implementing his concern for the communication of the Christian faith.

This slim volume is somewhat of an extension of the discussion and argument of *Worship and Mission* (SCM Press, 1966). Professor Davies' thought in this field is still in process and, although with characteristic honesty and modesty he claims no ready or final answers, yet his clearly etched analyses are laying before us certain issues that are crucial for the integrity of the Church in this period of ferment. Since the date of his previous writing, he has read widely among the contemporary critics of the Church and of organized religion and has come under the influence of Hoekendijk, Howe, Symanowski, van den Heuvel, Lanternari, Winter, Berger, and Berton. This does not imply for one moment that the Cadbury Professor of Theology at the University of Birmingham does not have fresh ideas of his own. He makes indeed an original contribution of real substance, but these other writers have helped him to define those basic issues that appear in multifaceted forms in the life of the Church and Christianity both at home and abroad.

This study takes up the popular concept of "dialogue" and argues that "if the Church is to be true to its vocation, it must leave the apparent security of its inherited structures and go out into all areas of human society. It must engage in dialogue with the world . . ." (p. 7). There are four chapters: "God's Action in the World," which defines mission as God's activity in the world and the Church as an instrument that partakes in it; "The Meaning and Importance of Dialogue" sets monologue over against dialogue and endorses the latter as the method most congenial to worship and proclamation; "A Critique of Certain Christian Activities in the World" explores the meaning and weakness of such traditional practices as outreach, extension and conversion which are peculiar to the Church; and "Let the World Provide the Agenda" is an original and highly provocative presentation of what his theses would mean in practical terms for the Church today. This, then, is the thrust

of a discussion in which Professor Davies attempts to provide the initial stages of a new and emerging structure among the dizzy round of opinions, judgments, and projectiles being hurled daily against the Church.

The plethora of books, articles, and pamphlets on the sickness of the Church is currently at flood tide. Despite the preponderance of negativism, however, each of these writers needs to be listened to and his point acknowledged with care. Common sense urged this long before the word "dialogue" became a slogan or was discovered to be the way most things had been done all along. However, the revolt against "monologue" is not a cure-all; it can be replaced simply by the other slogan "dialogue," with the inevitable strangling of creativity that the tyranny of all slogans produces. What is more, while arguments from generalities are always suspect, they are not any more so than the use of an exception to validate a principle or the lack of it. Granted that the Church is in need of total re-formation, is it not only reasonable, but also astute, to acknowledge that the coercion exercised by a cult of traditionalism is no less perilous than that of a cult of multiple options?

So many voices have joined this chorus that it may be useful to examine a number of these criticisms from among those that can be treated with fairness apart from the context in which they occur:

(i) On page 44, we read: "Modern man is no longer under tutelage to a religious authority; he is to be set free for a life of responsibility before God." Whatever relevance such a remark might have had in the Middle Ages, it sounds like an anachronism in this latter half of the twentieth century.

(ii) On page 50, with the help of Alec Vidler, the whole "idea of conversion" is discredited as unacceptable by "wise and balanced minds" and is defined (p. 52) as "a turning towards God to do his will in the secular world; it is not concerned with one's own private spiritual life." The first half of this definition describes what has been certainly the result and outgrowth of every genuine conversion, but it must be remembered that the complexion of this outward activity in the secular world is colored and its viable purpose delineated only by the extent to which the God-encountered in one's "private spiritual life" was originally an ex-

perience in depth. It is sheer myopia to think or talk otherwise.

(iii) On page 55, we are met by a watered down image of the Christian experience in which even Paul's robust definition of the nature of his faith is compromised. The author refers to communicating in dialogue to the non-Christian "the truth I have apprehended." Does this do justice to some of the indispensable facets of the Christian faith that supply its distinctiveness and prohibit its being simply a fellow-traveller within a syncretism? Prior to his conversion, Paul could apprehend the truth of philosophy and religion, but in Christianity he encountered a Person and in consequence a new dimension unfolded: he was himself apprehended (*Philippians 3:12-13*). Are we sure that a Christianity that is limited to human apprehension and is without the in-reaching claim of a risen Person can be sufficient for the demand this age lays upon it?

(iv) On the same page there follows this remark: "To live dialogically is to live dangerously, but at the same time it is to live creatively." Recently this reviewer met a man, a Jamaican, who was converted in the old fashioned way, indeed through the lines of a Gospel hymn. Presently he is a successful executive with a large American corporation in an Eastern city. In his spare time, however, he has established in a nearby town a rehabilitation center for reclaimed alcoholics to whom he gives generously of his time and financial resources. Moreover, the contagion of his re-born personality has drawn a score of others into the project with him. This is an "extension" of the Church. This is mission. It may be of more than passing interest that he has never once despaired of the Church which in its own blundering way has somehow conserved for twenty centuries that deposit of living faith once entrusted to the saints.

(v) On page 56, the Church is challenged to be more adventurous: "Every Church which hears the call to preach the Gospel reaches out to a goal which is other and greater than itself, with its eyes fixed on the victory of Christ." In an age when the established Church is pilloried for its vagueness, its esoteric jargon, its seeming indefiniteness of aim, may we ask respectfully whether the new missionaries are indicating goals that are any more concretely delineated?

(vi) On pages 69-70, there is a moving account of the ministry of a Lutheran sister in Kamagasaki, a slum of Osaki, Japan. It is used as an example of a new and revolutionary break-through, namely, taking over "agenda from the world." No one intends to detract from the servant image this Lutheran religious portrays in her work, but this so-called new strategy about "letting the world provide the agenda" was implemented forty-five years ago by Toyohiko Kagawa and is, therefore, neither novel nor unprecedented.

(vii) On page 73, the Church is censured for perpetuating an untenable distinction between sacred and secular. On closer study, however, is not this flaw seen in the thinking of both the criticized and the critics? Who are the people who come to church on Sunday? They are not an in-grown clique who live somehow during the other six days of the week in an "ivory tower" or "holy compartment" or "sacred wood." After the high event of each Sunday's worship they do not spend Monday through Saturday strumming their harps in hallowed bowers. They are the world, the secular, the warp and woof of our multi-colored, social and cultural *milieu*. They are still the Church, but they are the Church in the factory, in the street, and in your house and mine. They are all of a piece with our common humanity. They are in dialogue with God and man. Moreover, they are a peculiar people, because the sacred and secular are one within them.

DONALD MACLEOD

The Grave of God, by Robert Adolfs. Harper & Row, Publishers, New York, N.Y., 1967. Pp. 157. \$4.50.

This is an exceedingly articulate book, written with quiet dignity and courage by a priest who is still within the Roman Catholic Church and who intends to remain there. Father Adolfs, after some years as a pastor and teacher in the United States, is now prior of the Augustinian Priory and Students' Chaplain at the Technological University, Eindhoven, The Netherlands. His earlier volume, *The Church is Different*, received considerable acclaim from and much favorable evaluation by both Roman and Protestant religious thinkers alike. This new work—subtitled, *Has The Church a Future?*

—promises to precipitate not only much discussion, but maybe another break-through among those of varying degrees that have occurred since Vatican II. Written in a clear, unadorned literary style, these chapters are well documented and their authenticity is fortified by the author's own perception and constant appeal to recognized sources.

Here are five fully packed chapters that require careful reading, not for their profundity (although Father Adolfs is not superficial), but on account of the context within which they have been composed. In the brief Introduction, he describes ours as an age of "rapid change" and points to "the uneasiness, alarm, and pessimism" this fact has engendered. Uneasiness has come in the wake of the decline of "Church Christianity"; alarm has followed the decrease in the significance of the Christian faith; and pessimism has grown with the lack of meaning the Church and Christianity have for the contemporary world (p. 7). Hence "the Christian faith plays hardly any part today, perhaps no part at all, in the really dynamic spheres of central importance in modern society" (p. 8). What of the future? Some have turned hopefully to the Council, but Father Adolfs cautions us "that spiritual rebirths do not take place at Councils" (p. 9). The Council was "in principle an affair of the clergy" (p. 10) and had to do with the rebirth of the Church, not of the world. For this reason, the author feels that the institutionalized Church stands in its own way.

In Chapter I, "The Situation of the Question," Father Adolfs explores both the presuppositions and implications of such a question as: "Has the Church a future?" He discusses: the present religious crisis symbolized by the slogan "God is Dead"; the onslaught of secularization and its offspring, secularism; and the Hamilton-Altizer-Van Buren syndrome with its medley of progenitors and satellites, including Tillich and Vahanian. The life saver he projects is the recovery of a "lost dimension." But the Church cannot execute this responsibility in the words and idiom of an age that is dead or with an objective that is outdated and irrelevant (p. 36).

Chapter II is entitled simply, "The Future." The issue is broached with an over-the-shoulder glance at the scientific, social, and

industrial revolutions; the wars of devastation; and especially "rapidity," the acceleration of change and the consequent estrangement from custom and tradition. Everywhere appear evidences of the unstable character of modern life. Yet the Church, "by her present structure" and by virtue of her "own prestige," is prevented from being present in these areas "where secular man is seeking and asking questions" (p. 63).

In Chapter III, Father Adolfs examines "The Church in the Secular Situation," particularly the monolithic structure of the Church of Rome and the consequent alienation that is increasing and deepening through cultural and sociological processes. The greatest peril, however, is what Adolfs calls "the hidden ideology of modern society," the ideology "that rots away the foundations of the Church and faith while these are outwardly treated with apparent respect in society" (p. 89).

By Chapter IV, we are ready for a positive rejoinder and the author provides it in "The Church and Kenosis." He reviews the traditional names for the Church and, for him, the best is "People of God." He deplores the Church's original blunder in choosing "the political king-figure" in preference to "the prophetic servant-figure." The result is that "we have at the present moment of history reached the point of bankruptcy, the legacy of the choice which the Church made at the parting of the ways in the fourth century" (p. 108). He calls for a return to Philippians 2:5-11. The slogan of Vatican II, he feels, does not imply this demand.

"The word that should really have been used was not *aggiornamento*, adaptation or renewal, but *kenosis*" (p. 116).

This discussion is carried over into Chapter V, "The Future of the Church," in which Father Adolfs outlines "a concrete plan of the Church in her kenotic form" (p. 125). The most radical reforms have to do with the Pope, the Vatican, diocesan structures, the role of the bishops, and the priestly office, in view of the new complexion of the Church as "People of God." Moreover, the Church must become a "Zone of truth" in the world. And the way to this end is by *metanoia*, "a change of heart or conversion, the development of a new mentality, a kenotic attitude" (p. 149).

This book is just one among many modern treatises on church reform (cf. Hoekendijk, Berton, van den Heuvel, Fisher, Müller, Gottwald, Robinson—indeed they are legion), but it may be numbered as being the most incisive in self-criticism and the most skillful in separating the wheat from the chaff. However, in his appeal for a "kenotic Church," Father Adolfs makes clear that he has "not really altered anything of the Church's essence" (p. 148). What does he mean? What is the Church's *essence* from the Roman perspective? Unless and until this concept is defined, is there any chance of our getting at or beginning to realize what the author is pleading for? *Kenosis* must begin with essence or else the new structures will be a continuation of the imperfections of the old.

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THE CONCEPT OF WILLING

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The Edward F. Gallahue Conference on Will and Willing held in 1963 at Princeton Theological Seminary brought together a group of distinguished scholars to investigate how development in theology and in the psychological sciences in the past few decades had influenced the concept of will. In these chapters the findings are carefully studied, organized, and reworked to make a significant statement in an area just now receiving renewed attention.

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